JA79
.V95

The Christian in Politics

Haddam House

Haddam House is a publishing project in the field of religious literature for youth. Its special concern is the moral and religious questions and needs of young men and women. It gathers up and continues the interests that led to the publication of the Hazen Books on Religion and is directed primarily to students and employed young people.

Haddam House seeks as authors new voices qualified to give fresh guidance to thoughtful youth. In consultation with leaders of the United Student Christian Council and other groups, Haddam House is studying the changing needs for literature in its field and developing methods of wide distribution.

Policy and program for Haddam House are under the direction of an Editorial Board which represents common concerns of the Edward W. Hazen Foundation, Woman's Press, and Association Press, together with educators and religious leaders from various Christian churches and agencies. At present the Editorial Board includes: Edwin E. Aubrey, Chairman, William W. McKee, Secretary, Leila Anderson, Richard T. Baker, John C. Bennett, Paul J. Braisted, Virginia Corwin, John Deschner, Lawrence K. Hall, William Hubben, Paul L. Lehmann, Paul M. Limbert, John O. Nelson, Wilmina M. Rowland, J. Edward Sproul, Rose Terlin, Kenneth W. Underwood.

Haddam House Books to Date

Beyond This Darkness, Roger L. Shinn
Christian Faith and My Job, Alexander Miller
Primer for Protestants, James Hastings Nichols
Preface to Ethical Living, Robert E. Fitch
The Grand Inquisitor, Fyodor Dostoevsky
Christianity and Communism, John C. Bennett
Youth Asks About Religion, Jack Finegan
Young Laymen—Young Church, John Oliver Nelson
The Human Venture in Sex, Love, and Marriage, Peter A. Bertocci
Science and Christian Faith, Edward LeRoy Long, Jr.
A Gospel for the Social Awakening, Walter Rauschenbusch
Rediscovering the Bible, Bernhard W. Anderson
The Christian in Politics, Jerry Voorhis

LIBRARY OF PRINCETON
SEP 6 1951
THEOLOGICAL SEMINARY

The Christian in Politics

by JERRY VOORHIS

A Haddam *House Book*

ASSOCIATION PRESS, NEW YORK

1951

COPYRIGHT, 1951
HADDAM HOUSE, INC.

PRINTED IN THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA
55

"I plead with you for all that makes strong citizens. First, clear convictions, deep, careful, patient study of the government under which we live, until you not merely believe it is the best in the world, but know why you believe. And then a clear conscience, as much ashamed of public as of private sin, as ready to hate and rehate and vote down corruption in the state, in your own party as you would be in your own store or church; as ready to bring the one as the other to the judgment of the living God.

And then, unselfishness. An earnest and exalted sense that you are for the land, and not alone the land for you; something of the self-sacrifice which they showed who died for us from '61 to '65.

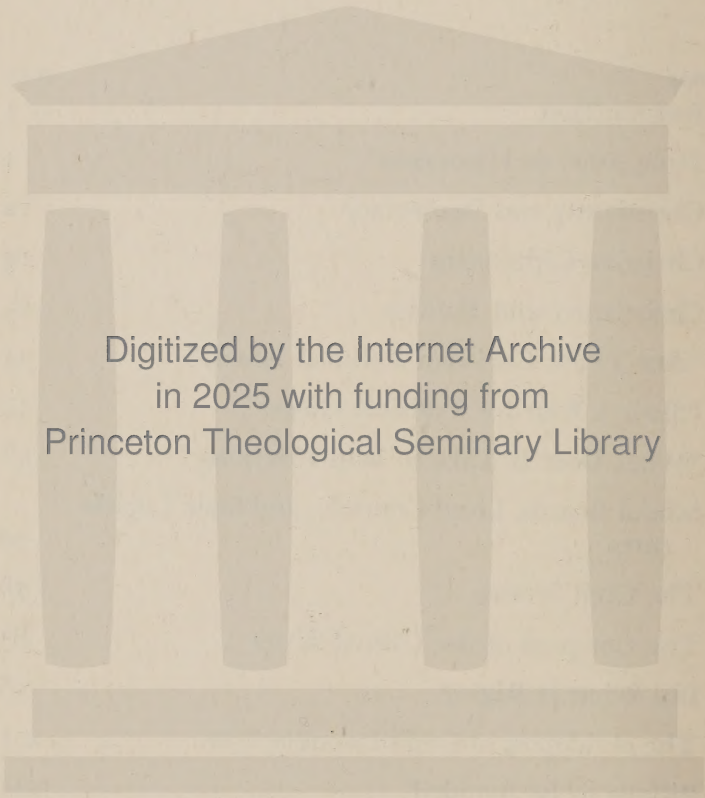
And then, activity: the readiness to wake and watch and do a citizen's work, untiringly, counting it as base not to vote at an election, not to work against a bad official or for a good one, as it would have been to shirk a battle in the war.

Such a strong citizenship let there be among us; such knightly doing of our duties on the fields of peace."

PHILLIPS BROOKS

Table of Contents

CHAPTERS	PAGE
1. Introduction	1
2. From Eden to Hiroshima	4
3. Christianity and Democracy	12
4. Christian Citizenship	19
5. Christianity and Politics	25
6. "Are There Christian Political Issues?"	34
7. "Shall I Run for Political Office?"	44
8. "What Does It Take to Win Elections?"	56
9. School Boards, Local Councils, and State Legislatures	70
10. The Civil Service	76
11. The Congress of the United States	83
12. But What Is Right?	96
13. The Guidepost of God's Intended Use	101
14. Pitfalls to Be Avoided	111
15. A Faith to Live By	116
16. Conclusion	131


Digitized by the Internet Archive
in 2025 with funding from
Princeton Theological Seminary Library

https://archive.org/details/christianinpolit00voor

1. *Introduction*

JESUS SAID "THE MEEK shall inherit the earth." But His followers today must find their way—and their mission—in a world gone mad with irresponsible power.

Not only has man harnessed nature to do his bidding. He has gained the power to upset the very order of nature. He makes it rain when it would not; he splits infinitesimal particles of matter to release untold energy; he devises ways to enlist bacteria as allies in war.

With such power goes a corresponding solemn responsibility and duty before God which we can no more escape than we can turn back the hands of time. That responsibility is to develop, to build, if need be to create, institutions and relationships among men which will be strong enough and good enough to restrain evil uses of power and to channel it to the benefit instead of the destruction of mankind.

Such a responsibility can only be fulfilled by a people who are guided and inspired and sustained by the strength of the everlasting spirit of God himself. God's guidance, inspiration, and strength come only to those who are willing to apply the best and simplest principles they know to every phase of their lives. Those principles are found in the gospel of Christ. Their application can no longer

safely be limited to personal and social relationships. They must transform the economic and political life of our times as well.

The principles of the gospel did practically that to the Empire of Rome. That they could do even more today no sincere Christian can doubt. They have never failed. In modern times they have never really been tried. With rare exceptions Christians have chosen to withdraw their own influence—and, what is worse, the influence of their Lord—from certain of the most vital areas of modern life. We have defaulted. We dare default no longer.

Perhaps it is logical that it should be in our times that Christians should undertake for the first time in hundreds of years the full burden of citizenship. For now there is no other course open to us that offers hope of salvation.

The neighborhood is the unit from which all larger societies are built. Christian citizenship must begin and will probably always find its finest expression there. But we cannot honestly say that even a telling Christian influence in thousands of neighborhoods throughout the nation would be sufficient to meet our problems and avoid our common dangers. We cannot save human liberty or prevent war by working in our neighborhoods alone.

Beyond the neighborhood and affecting it in a thousand different ways lie the community, the state, the nation, and the world.

The challenge of the ages is before this generation of Christians. Our work begins at home. It ends only at the circumference of the globe.

"All things are possible to him who believes."

The book which follows is written as a message to Christian citizens of the United States—and particularly the younger ones. The word "Christian" is used in no formal or narrow sense. It means a person who, regardless of what his particular church membership may or

may not be, is so devoted to the principles and teachings of the Gospels that he seeks with all his strength and intelligence to pattern his life after them. There have been those, like the great Gandhi, who did this very thing far, far better than most of us who are professing Christians.

It is hoped that the purpose of the book will be clear to Christians and non-Christians alike and that those belonging to the latter group will in no way be offended. It is certainly out of no disrespect for them that this book is primarily aimed at arousing Christians to a full realization of some of the duties which the author believes they cannot, in loyalty to either their religion or their country, neglect or avoid.

Furthermore, whenever the word "brotherhood" is used it means a brotherhood of all people, regardless of race, nationality, economic status, creed, or religion.

The writer has been a politician. For five terms I represented the 12th California district in the House of Representatives. I know what it means to be elected, to take an oath of office and try to live up to it as best one can. I also know what it means to be defeated, because that happened to me too, more than once. The first time was when I ran for the California state assembly in 1934. The second time was when the people of the 12th district "retired" me in 1946.

For reasons that will be apparent to the reader I cannot say that I was a "Christian politician." I can say that I tried to be. As one of the 435 members of the House I tried to influence the course of our country toward what seemed to me to be Christian goals. As I look back over the record, I confess that in those efforts I failed at least as often as I succeeded.

But I have not turned my back on politics nor on the essentially political duties which fall on every one of us. I have not even made any irrevocable decision that I may not some day run for elective office once again. The

issues of our time are too desperately important for any thoughtful citizen to make such a decision. Besides, no one who has held such an office ever quite recovers from the urge to "try again." What has happened is that I have been fortunate enough to find a work to do which seems to me absolutely essential to the building of a truly free, democratic society, even though the political decisions of our time remain the ones of greatest immediate consequence.

I am writing this book because I firmly believe that where in my time I failed, others with greater wisdom and ability may in their time succeed. I am writing it because I know they *must* succeed. Most of all, I am writing it in the hope that when, in the days ahead, devoted Christians do decide to enter upon political careers they will not have to work alone. I hope a reading of this book may lead at least some of the nation's 60,000,000 Christians to really help them.

2. *From Eden to Hiroshima*

THE BIBLICAL story of the garden of Eden is the story of the birth of man. It is the story of how man became distinct from other forms of life. It is the story of how man first pitted his own puny and imperfect and sinful will against the will of God. But it is also the story of how man first took to himself responsibility for the finding of his own way through life and death on a tiny planet set in the midst of the limitless spaces of the universe.

So out of a world of blank forgetfulness there came upon the earth in God's good time living beings who were conscious that they lived and who were driven by some strange inner compulsion to find out why.

The course of man's history has been a wandering, stumbling, plodding, bloodstained course. But it has been an upward one from the beginning until now. Through fetid swamps and over icy plains ancient man pursued his quest. He stumbled over his first stone tool. He burned himself in the fire he did not understand. He grunted and groaned and cried with joy or pain through eons of time until at last those grunts and groans and cries became language. He endured ages of loneliness to discover at last that common dangers, if not common interests, could bring more than one of his kind together. Out of that discovery he formed his clans and tribes.

On these foundations have been built all the civilizations that followed. It is unnecessary to trace them all. But we need to have our bearings as to where we are and how we have come here. Some of the most recent turning points in human history are helpful in giving us our bearings.

It was about 3,000 years ago that the ancestors of the ancient Greeks began to push down into the peninsula. It was about 500 years later that they had developed one of the greatest civilizations of all time, and their art, literature, and philosophy deeply influenced the history of many lands and gave to all generations that followed an ideal of beauty and the "good life."

It was also 2,500 years ago that a little group of farmers along the Tiber River in Italy discovered that citizenship and participation in decision-making must go together. Based on this discovery they put together so strong a nation that it was able to conquer the known world and

leave behind it the simple idea that there can be among men an institution known as law.

And then in an hour of mankind's history that was as dark as any it has ever known there took place 2,000 years ago the one event which could provide the answer to man's great question as to why he lives. That event was a Life—a Life so fashioned that those whom it touched knew it to be the incarnate expression of God's will for man. Since that life was lived 2,000 years ago the purpose of human life has been clear. Men have known that to fulfill their eternal destiny they must, through the Grace of God, find ways to apply the principles of the Life of Jesus of Nazareth to their relations one with the other. Mankind has had a goal, a purpose, a logical end to human life on earth.

Because even a few people understood this, the Empire of Rome was shaken to its very foundations. But Rome could not be saved. Her strength turned to mere glory and grandeur, her law to the will of a single, usually corrupt, individual. Roman citizenship, which had once meant much that was good, became an opportunity to exploit, instead of a challenge to faithful service.

And so a little over 1,500 years ago Rome fell. She fell before bands of wild and rude people from the North. She fell to prove that evil and corrupt institutions contain within themselves the seeds of their own destruction. Rome had become a dictatorship.

The dark ages settled over the western world. Knowledge of the past was preserved only in the monasteries of the church. Violence swept across the fields and the villages almost unchecked. That it did not destroy civilization completely is worth remembering.

Five hundred years later, at about the year 1000, there began a revival of the spirit of search without which no new creation can take place. One expression of this new spirit was the Crusades, strange and usually violent

pilgrimages to the Holy Land. The grip of fear and ignorance was broken. The minds of men fought their way free. The records of the past were opened. People began to dare to climb the hills that surrounded their homes and behold what lay beyond.

It was only a short 500 years ago that Christopher Columbus, one of the boldest children of the age of discovery, dared to sail west across unknown seas—and find a new world. It was the last "new World" of any consequence upon this globe. Columbus and his fellow voyagers brought to an end the long, long period when civilizations could rise and flourish in isolation from the rest of mankind. These men linked the world together for the first time. The succeeding 500 years have been marked by ever-increasing interdependence of all peoples of the earth. Communication has become instantaneous from any part of the world to any other part. The journey that took Columbus months to accomplish is now but a matter of hours. The world has become one; and the only question is whether or not our generation will recognize that overwhelming fact before it is too late.

Out of the discoveries of Columbus and the other explorers of his time came an opportunity for freedom such as man had never known before—and can probably never experience again. For they discovered two continents that were populated for the most part by scattered tribes of barbaric, though sometimes vigorous, people. The resources of those continents were rich. What was more important they were unclaimed. They did not belong to anyone.

There began, therefore, in the course of time great waves of migration to the new world. They were, naturally enough, migrations of people who, for one reason or another, preferred the freedom of the wilderness to the circumstances of their life in more civilized places. They

were the kind of men and they came to live in the kind of environment out of which a new form of human society could be developed. That form of society we call democracy. Some historians will no doubt argue that there were democracies here and there before America was ever heard of. They will speak of Greece and early Rome. But democracy as it developed in some parts of the Americas was different in one very important respect from anything that had happened before. For American democracy, in its ideal form at least, was all-inclusive. It was, at its best, not a "democracy" like that of the Greek city state in which the freedom and self-government of part of the people rested upon a social foundation of the slavery of the rest. American democracy became a society in which every person could take a dignified part. More than that it was, and is today, a society the health and strength of which depend upon the active participation in its life of all people who make it up.

Never in all its brief history has this democracy of the New World been perfect or complete. Indeed for a long time it, too, was marred by the curse of slavery in some areas. But not until our own time have voices been raised against the "American Dream" as the ideal form of society toward which we should strive with all our effort. And the "American Dream" has been of a society in which all men should be free and in which the talents of each of them should have full scope for expression and for growth.

So the two great developments of the last 500 years have been these. First, in place of a world where many civilizations could exist quite separate and isolated from one another, we now have a world tied together by innumerable bonds of knowledge, communication, and commerce, a world of interdependence in which no man or nation can any longer live to itself alone. Second, there has grown the ideal, and in some favored regions the realization, of

human liberty. The soil from which that liberty grew was free land and an unexploited continent where no man could be required to wear another's yoke because almost any man could take his family to the frontier and build his own economic destiny. The political expression of human liberty was, and is, constitutional democratic government. It spread from the Americas, where it first took root, to many other parts of the world.

As mankind approached the year 2000 A.D. it was, according to the pattern of the past, to be expected that another great turning point in his history would be reached. And so it is. For in the year 1945 an American airplane dropped a weapon upon a Japanese city that heralded an age as new and different from the past as the world of 1900 was different from the world of the time of Christ.

This weapon was no accident in history but the logical end result of the struggle for power and of the influence of very old and largely evil forces which have been at work in human society from the beginning but which appeared in the twentieth century with new names and new faces. They appeared to challenge the very life of the new democracy toward which man was striving.

Had these forces been the first to discover the means of releasing the energy of the atom the crisis of our time would already have been passed. The world would have been unified under a despotism more complete than any the world has ever seen. Democracy would have been a thing of the past, an incident of a moment of time.

As it is, the crisis and decision of the year about 2000 A.D. will be made sharper and more full of the possibility of both good and evil because the power of atomic energy is possessed by human beings. But the decision of our time will be twofold. First, we will decide whether government of the people, by the people, and for the people is or is

not to perish from the earth. And second, we will decide whether civilization—and with it most of mankind—is to live or whether it is to die. For man can live with his own present physical powers only if his evil passions—his original sin, if you will—are restrained and his constructive energies channeled by institutions of government and of society which are far more responsive to the people and their will to live than any such institutions of government have ever been in all past history.

We are face to face today with the stark horrible possibility that mankind will employ the basic energy of God's natural universe to destroy the creature made in the image of God—man himself. Should this happen it would be the complete and ultimate crime and sin against the face of God. It would be the final—and but for the Grace of God, logical—step along the road chosen in Eden when original man first dared to pit "his own puny and imperfect and sinful will against the will of God."

It becomes, therefore, utterly beyond reason to expect that any power on earth except only the power of God working through consecrated human beings can today save mankind. And it becomes equally beyond reason to think that such consecration can express itself in personal evangelism only.

With mankind in danger of committing the most terrible collective crime that the human mind can conceive, it is time for us to understand that consecration to the will of God commits us to no less a task than the redirection of the life of men and nations.

Such a task is not to be accomplished by international conventions or the agreements of heads of states alone. No structure of world peace and justice can hang suspended above the earth. Such a structure must have its foundations in the thousands of communities where men and women weave their daily lives together. It must rest upon economic and social institutions of justice and free-

dom fashioned by the good-will of countless people, expressing that good-will in the way most practical for their time and circumstance.

Fortunately, therefore, a part of our heritage from the struggles of the centuries are the institutions of constitutional democratic government. For those institutions, and they alone among governmental forms, offer us freedom to develop the kind of community life just now so briefly described. Also, they offer us the alternative to, and the rallying point against, the tide of irresponsible and ruthless totalitarianism which has swept across a large part of the world. Finally, in a day when none of us can possibly determine alone his individual destiny, these institutions of constitutional democratic government afford us the means of asserting together, if we will, the control of conscience over the events and decisions of our time.

How foolish, then, it is for Christians to continue in these years of crisis to shun "politics" as a mean and sordid thing. How short-sighted for us to fail to recognize in the political institutions of this and other free nations a means whereby social decisions can be peacefully reached—right decisions quite as well as wrong ones. Some of those decisions of the years that lie immediately ahead will almost certainly be fraught with such consequences as to determine the fate of many generations if not of our civilization itself. And yet, while some of us stand aside, these free political institutions are threatened today as never before in all their comparatively brief history.

In the face of all this, what is our Christian duty? Is it to do as Our Lord did in his own time and place and circumstance? Or is it to do as he would have *us* do? He was Messiah. We are not Messiahs, nor is there the slightest chance of our becoming so. In the Grace of God and there alone are we able to rest any hopes we may have

for the decency of our own souls. Are we then to fold our hands in the face of the sufferings and dangers of our fellowmen and deceive ourselves into the belief that by such a course we are "following Jesus"? Or must we not each in his own way and in his own chosen sphere, use every instrument and resource that is available to us in a consecrated effort to build a better world and thus to set men free? Shall we turn away from our evident responsibility as Christians, refusing to employ methods to gain good ends which our Lord might not have used, *because,* as we ought to know, *he did not need them?* Or shall we not recognize honestly the awful crime we have already committed against our children by calling them into a world made frightful by our neglect? And recognizing this shall we not take up with the earnestness of near-despair the burden of social and economic and political and religious reconstruction which the fact of that crime demands of us as recompense?

3. *Christianity and Democracy*

THE CROSS IS THE symbol of the Christian religion. When we kneel before that cross, we make a confession of belief and an humble acknowledgment. By that act we say: "Two thousand years ago there lived a carpenter from a little town called Nazareth who became penniless, homeless, almost friendless; who was despised by respectable society and persecuted by the mob. He was finally crucified. We believe this Jesus was the Son of God and that he holds for us the keys to the mysteries of life and death."

If we have this basic belief, then we must also believe that the teachings of Christ are true and that he meant exactly what he said. We must believe that the poor are blessed of God and that self-sacrificing love is the most powerful influence in human life. We must believe that our lives are made better not by honor, achievement, or acclaim but by being helpful to one of the least of these, his brethren. We must believe that God is the Father of all life and that our first duty is reverence for all his creation and especially for every single human life. Because we believe in the Fatherhood of God, so equally must we believe in the brotherhood of man. The second great commandment is like unto the first one. We cannot love God with all our heart and soul and mind unless we also love our neighbors as ourselves.

Christ does not call his followers to lift themselves by their own bootstraps to a state of mind and soul better than that of other people. Instead he calls us to confession and forgiveness. Understanding him, we rest our hope not in our own worthiness but in our opportunity for repentance and the promise that, to the extent that we forgive, we may hope for forgiveness too. And in this state of mind all barriers between ourselves and other human beings become utterly senseless.

The central demand of our religion upon us is that we share life with our fellow-men. Love is a bond *between* people. It draws them together on a basis of equality. It enables them to understand and work with one another.

The great commandments of the Christian religion require of us the same basic type of action as is essential to the development of a truly democratic society. Moreover, when the Christian attempts to follow those commandments he is doing with conscious purpose very much the same sort of thing that the fundamental urges or

instincts of man have been prompting him to do since his first appearance on earth.

For the social history of mankind is in the main a story of how people through all the ages have been forming themselves into groups of one kind or another. In fact, the true history of mankind is never the history of individuals but the history of groups and societies and cultures and civilizations. In the beginning the groups consisted of only a few families. Today some of them fill whole continents. But whether they have been families or clans or tribes or city states or nations; whether they have been guilds or labor unions or granges or co-operatives; whether they have been tribal inner circles or fraternal societies or schools or churches—whatever the particular form or purpose of the group, men and women have all through history formed such groups because they were so made that they could not do otherwise. This is the greatest single fact about man's life on earth. The law of life and means of survival is not individual self-assertion but the instinct of mankind to co-operate and work together.

Behind the Christian command that we love one another stands the deepest social need of the human being —the need for a sense of *belonging,* of having a place *among,* not apart from, his fellows.

The greater the dangers, the deeper the troubles, the more intense the want or need, the stronger has been the urge of men and women to fit their lives together so they could better meet those dangers, troubles, and needs. These facts are as true today as they have ever been.

For thousands of years human groups or societies were nearly all of the type the sociologists call "face-to-face" bands or groups. Each such group was more or less sufficient to itself. As best it could, it protected and met the needs of its members. Its customs were its laws, the only ones it needed. It was and is the most basic type of human

organization. Today our face-to-face groups are our church parishes and congregations, our granges and farmers' unions and farm bureaus, our local labor unions, our co-operatives, our schools, and a hundred other free associations.

But the face-to-face groups of today are no longer in any sense self-sufficient. They exist within great nations and their fate is largely determined by forces utterly beyond their control. The sociologists tell us that probably our gravest social problem today is the loss of the self-discipline and emotional satisfactions provided by the face-to-face group which is able to make vital decisions affecting the lives of its members.

The urge of mankind to band together is deep and universal. In one way or another it will assert itself. But as population grows, as transportation and communication and division of labor and a hundred other influences make millions of people dependent upon one another, there arises a desperate contest. It is a contest between social man, striving to create institutions which can cope with new problems and also preserve the basic values of the voluntary group, and antisocial men seeking to prostitute the group-forming urge to their own will to power and advantage.

There is a limit to the number of people who can possibly meet together at any one time and place. All the people of a large city cannot do so. Certainly all the people of an entire nation cannot do so. Still less the people of a whole continent or of the world itself. And yet there are problems which can be solved only on a national or a continental or a world basis.

Thus there is a gap between what the face-to-face group can do and the necessities of great populations crowded together and facing complex problems. To bridge that gap the peoples of the world have been fumbling and

striving to create social machinery whereby they could act together without the necessity for face-to-face contact. Much of such machinery we call government.

It has taken many different forms. The simplest and easiest one, and the one which preserves the fewest of the values of the face-to-face group, is the absolute state with power concentrated in the hands of a chief, a monarch, or a dictator. At the other extreme stands democratic government of the people, controlled by the will of the people, and conducted for the people's general interest.

Now the Christian faith certainly cannot be tied like a helpless kite to the standard of any political, social, or economic system that now exists or ever has existed. A Christian order, if such is ever achieved, would be very different from capitalism or socialism or fascism or communism. Neither a desire for profit nor the decrees of government could be the motive in a truly Christian economic order.

But the broad outlines of the social and governmental institutions which the Christian must seek are clear enough. They must be institutions which are based upon respect for the dignity and the worth of every human being. They must reflect the principle of brotherhood by providing basic equality before the law and in other essential ways. They must place the power of decision squarely in the hands of the people and must provide the means whereby decisions can be made without resort to violence. They must allow freedom of expression of conscientious beliefs and freedom for carrying out these beliefs in practice, especially through voluntary associations, groups, and organizations wherein the people join together. The social and governmental institutions which Christians must seek, and, having found, support and defend, must be such as to encourage growth and development of the minds and spirits of the people. Finally there must be a reasonable order, peace, and safety in such a society, because if violence

is not restrained, the physically strong will exploit the physically weak, the ruthless will overcome those who are ready to observe their neighbors' rights, and in the end freedom itself will be destroyed.

Nothing human is or ever will be perfect. Nonetheless, it is evident that we can find in a truly democratic society most of the qualities and institutions which the Christian seeks.

Ideally at least a democracy does observe the principle of equality. It accords to each citizen one vote and only one. It provides that the decisions of a majority of its citizens shall determine its course of action; and the losers in an election may not resort to violence to upset its results. Democracy establishes law before which all citizens stand equal and to which they may appeal for redress of grievances, not only against their fellow citizens but against the government itself. A democracy, by very definition, must allow freedom of expression and belief and constantly subject itself to change and reform at the will of the people. The democratic ideal permits no outcast; every citizen belongs to its group; it thus preserves the basic principle of human dignity.

Democracy, and it alone of all existing forms of human social organization, offers full opportunity for the growth and development of the minds and spirits of the people.

This is true because for any democracy to be strong and vital the people must achieve at least three things:

First, the people must have the constitutional right to decide their course of action. Second, the people must have the will to assume responsibility for deciding their course of action. And third, they must know the means and methods whereby they can effectively carry out that responsibility not alone in the political, but in the social and economic aspects of life as well.

Unless all three of these elements are present, the other

one or two of them cannot for long continue to exist. No constitutional democratic government can endure the failure of its people to take seriously and exercise diligently their duty of actively controlling that government and giving thought to its course and policy. Nor can a democratic society keep its vitality and strength if the people participate in its decision-making only upon election days. The roots of any true democracy must be struck deep in the groupings of its people in their local neighborhoods, in the ways the people devise for fitting their lives and activities together so that their bread and butter may be gained, their children educated, their health protected, their spiritual life developed. No democracy can be any stronger or more creative in its national capital than it is in the rural crossroads community. Virile democracy demands, therefore, a constant growth in mind and spirit of its people.

Finally, all this a democracy ideally provides within a framework of order, peace and safety, which is the will of the majority of its people. If, as is obviously the case, no professed democracy has ever yet carried out in practice all the principles and ideals here set forth, that is not the fault of democratic institutions but is rather due to the failure of its citizens to use those institutions as they should and as they can, if they will.

The conscience of man has struggled against the influence of blind, impersonal, materialistic forces that have pressed upon him. The conscience of man has struggled against his own wrong desires and evil passions, against ignorance and lack of understanding. Men have tried all through the ages to make right decisions. Certainly many Christians have tried to do so.

The processes of democracy represent an attempt to make it possible for the individual to express freely his conscientious convictions, even in so interdependent a society as the one in which we now must live. He may not

always have his way, but he can try. At least he can do so as long as he lives under free political institutions.

Such institutions remain only among those who make full use of them. The surest way for a people to lose their freedom is for them to fail to use it.

4. Christian Citizenship

THIS BOOK MAY BE said to be about politics as a Christian duty. But politics begins with the people, where they live and work and carry on their day-to-day activities. And Christian duty can be as broad as all the worthwhile occupations of our life. America is filled with mothers and trainmen and architects and miners and shopkeepers and doctors and farmers and teachers who do their work in the light of a Christian conscience and build toward the day when America may, in truth, be called a Christian nation. Without them there would be no point in this book because there would be no chance for Christian accomplishment in the field of politics.

One brief example of what we mean will be enough.

A group of dairy farmers in a midwestern state have agreed to meet together over a period of time and try to determine what their Christian duties and opportunities are. They have decided that the land they own is not theirs to do with as they please but rather a sacred trust, given them by God. From this they have concluded that the farming practices they must follow must be those which, if followed by all farmers, would leave to future

generations a greater fertility in these lands than they possessed when their present owners began to farm them. They have recognized their "Christian responsibility to the unseen consumers" of their products. They have decided, too, that the "family farm" is best because of its social values, but that because it is necessarily a small producing unit there must be exchange of help and machinery among neighbors and the formation of voluntary co-operatives for the marketing of good quality products and the purchase of necessary home and farm supplies. They believe they should belong to voluntary organizations of farm people.

These dairy farmers have not stopped with their vocational problems. They have decided they must help to develop the recreational and cultural activities of their communities, that they must be good and devoted members of their churches, that they must participate in school district activities, and that some of them at least must from time to time be candidates for positions on the school boards. They accept the fact that "the Christian dairy farmer is directly responsible for the kind of government program which is formulated concerning his welfare"; and they tell one another that they must never fail in their "Christian duty at election time."

It is hardly necessary to point out that it is impossible for anyone to do his Christian duty at election time unless Christian issues have been sharply drawn and presented by Christian leaders to the people for decision. It is equally impossible for Christian duty to be done at election time unless there are avowed and devoted Christian candidates to be voted for. But there will be neither Christian issues clearly presented nor Christian candidates with any hope of election unless there are millions of devoted Christian men and women all over the nation performing from day

to day the hard and usually thankless routine tasks and duties which constitute democratic political activity.

If all Christians had observed through the years a "Christian duty at election time" this country might by now have become much more nearly a Christian nation. But with certain noteworthy exceptions that simply has not happened. Instead, Christians have far too largely left the business of politics to some supposedly inferior group of people who were willing to assume the responsibility for conducting the one type of government which can provide, in the words of the dairy farmers, "the free atmosphere in which Christian ideals can develop."

Democratic government is not an institution suspended in mid-air above a nation of people. Democratic government *is* the people. It is the capstone of a vast and interwoven structure of organizations of the people, each with a different aim and purpose, but all of them bearing in one way or another on the business of government.

For example, when the son or daughter of one of the farmers mentioned in this chapter is initiated into his local Grange or becomes active in the Farm Bureau or the Farmers' Union, that step is certain to involve some political activities. They may not be partisan political activities. But in most states all three of the major farm organizations are politically active and politically influential. And in many states they carry on a well-planned program of study and information for their members which is calculated, at least, to enable them to vote with intelligence and, at most, to prepare them for political leadership. In Ohio, the Farm Bureau has inspired the organization of some 1,800 neighborhood advisory councils, groups of some dozen or more couples who meet regularly every two weeks to discuss issues of the day and to reach decisions respecting them. Attendance at these councils is not limited to Farm Bureau members, though a majority of those attending are such members. Few of

the councils would regard themselves as political groups, but when, as is the regular practice, their decisions on the questions discussed are communicated to the state Farm Bureau office, and when tabulation is made of these decisions, their total result very largely determines the position of the Bureau on public issues of a national as well as of a state or local nature.

In North Dakota the Farmers' Union can exert a powerful influence upon political opinion when the membership of that organization is itself united and of a strong conviction. And the same can almost be said of the Grange in the state of Washington. Thus the young Christian farmer—or his wife or sister—is in a position whenever he desires to do so to make his Christian influence felt on the political life of America, simply by working actively in his farm organization.

Correspondingly there is hardly a trade union in the nation any longer that does not have a political program of some sort. Not only are unions concerned with legislation, like the Wagner or Taft-Hartley Act, which directly affects them. They are also more and more active with respect to legislation affecting housing, the social security system, education, taxation, health, and many other subjects. And increasingly the unions are concerning themselves with international relations. There are industrial districts and even states where the influence of certain unions is a potent factor in political decisions. Here then is an avenue through which a Christian man or woman, young or old, can, if he so desires, bring to bear on the political life of his country the impact of the gospel in which he believes. He has this opportunity from the moment he becomes a member of a trade union.

Many other types of voluntary organizations open to their members somewhat similar opportunities. The League of Women Voters, for example, carries on a year-round program of study of both international and do-

mestic problems. Its open-mindedness and its spirit of inquiry constitute an invitation to Christian women to bring their influence to bear in a national organization which is highly respected and widely listened to.

Out of the people's needs arise their voluntary organizations; and out of the opinions of these organizations grows American political opinion at its best.

Most basic, however, of all efforts to affect for good the political life of our country are the ones directly put forth within political party organizations. No democracy can function without political parties. In some communities political organizations have degenerated into what seem necessary evils. But this result is directly traceable to neglect of plain civic duty on the part of a majority of citizens. In many another city, town, or country district political party organizations are at least as worthy examples of democratic groupings of people as are to be found in other realms of life.

By and large the people get the quality of government which they deserve. The price of good government is political activity by good people. The price of Christian government is political activity by Christian people.

And it must be made very clear that when we speak of political activity we do not mean running for office only, or even primarily. What we do mean is the political work that makes possible the cleaning up of political party organizations where they need it and the strengthening of them where they don't. We mean the hard, tiring, usually misunderstood work which must always underlie the election of good candidates to public office.

Not all of us will, or should, or can become candidates or office holders. But before every practicing Christian there stands today and every day the opportunity, the duty, and the challenge to make his impact felt upon the day-to-

day activities of the political parties which are the framework within which our free institutions exist.

Most political meetings are poorly attended. All the more opportunity for those who do attend to have influence. Still fewer people are willing to do the job of informing their fellow-citizens, house by house and neighborhood by neighborhood, of the true political issues and the true interests of the people. There is at least as much opportunity for a young man or woman of high Christian ideals to do this basic political work as there is for others to perform it. Nearly every political party organization in the nation, from the smallest county precinct to the national committees of the two major parties, is looking for able people—especially young people—to carry on its work.

Of course all of us must win a place for ourselves in such organizations. Newcomers will not at once be accepted or listened to as a rule. But persistent effort will in most cases be rewarded with real influence as time goes on. Convinced Christians will usually have a harder time in this respect than will those who hold less tenaciously to principle. Convinced Christians will seldom be able to be absolutely "regular" in their party allegiance for the simple reason that they have a far, far higher allegiance which determines their action. But willingness to work will to a considerable extent compensate for such Christian political irregularity even in the eyes of most party leaders. And unless we are to believe that our fellow-citizens are utterly depraved we must believe on the contrary that in the long run they will respond to the influence of unflinching conviction and sterling character.

When, in the election of 1948, the Democratic machine in Cook County, Illinois, decided to support Paul H. Douglas for United States Senator and Adlai Stevenson for Governor, it could hardly have selected two more exemplary candidates. How much easier would it have

been, however, for such a result to be attained if it had been the *rule* among earnest Christians in Illinois to engage actively in rank and file political work! Under such circumstances no political machine would have dared support any but high-minded men and women for public office. It is to the creation of such conditions through the action of many, many practicing Christians throughout the land that this book is dedicated.

5. *Christianity and Politics*

THE WORD "politics" is used here in its correct, dictionary meaning. Webster's dictionary defines "politics" as "the science and art of government," and again as "that branch of ethics dealing with the ethical relations and duties of states or social organizations." The politician in a representative government like that of the United States is chosen by his constituents to speak for them. When he does so, his words are an attempt to preserve in the complex society in which we live the opportunity of the people to make free and conscientious decisions as to their course of action. What once was accomplished by the members of the face-to-face group around the council fire must now be done, second-hand if you will, in the halls of legislatures, councils, and congresses.

But the task of the politician does not stop there. For all of the people are never of one mind. They disagree with one another. So the politician must perform the often thankless task of developing some sort of decision out of the many different opinions of dozens of different groups

and kinds of people, all of whom he is supposed to represent.

A dictator can stop there. Once he has made a decision, no one dares question it. And that is that.

But in a democracy it is different. It is not enough for politicians to decide questions. The people must not only accept those decisions; they must understand them as well. Somehow the democratic politician must help to develop among the people a reasonable unity of purpose, a sense of belonging together, of being "all in the same boat" whatever comes, and a sufficient core of real agreement on important issues to make *national* policy, as distinguished from mere *governmental* policy, possible. This is the work of political leadership. It is part of every politician's job, though not all of them perform it. It is the most difficult of all political tasks and the most necessary. It should be a challenge to any Christian.

But before he accepts that challenge, he must count the costs and understand the price that he must pay.

The first of those costs is, I am afraid, inherent in the very nature of politics in a democracy. Once elected to office—or appointed to office for that matter—the Christian cannot, as has just been said, confine his interest or his service to those with whom he finds himself in full agreement. He has become the servant of all the people, and it is his duty to serve them all as nearly as he can. To do so, he must remember that the democratic principle of freedom of opinion requires that politics in a democratic nation consists in large part at least of the art of compromise. Not until all men and women in the nation have become convinced and devoted and thoroughgoing Christians can the Christian in politics expect to carry fully into practice his deepest convictions. He will constantly be confronted with the problem of half a loaf or none, and he will spend many a wakeful night wondering

whether it is more nearly right to vote for the half loaf than to stand on principle and run the risk of getting none of it.

The Christian commandments, on the other hand, permit of no compromise. If we are to love the Lord our God with *all* our heart and soul and strength and mind, there is no room for conflicting allegiances. If we are to love our neighbors as ourselves, we cannot fail in a single instance to serve their true best interests in every available way. We cannot love some neighbors and hold others in disrespect or regard them in practical effect as belonging to an inferior race or kind of men.

We cannot fall into the error of those who profess an allegiance to Christianity but then take a wholly unchristian attitude toward most of the population of the earth. To such people America is already a "Christian Nation" and they are "Christian people," quite regardless of what either they or their nation may *do* in the light of the Gospels or the Christian commandments. To them life's problems, and particularly political problems, become grotesquely oversimplified, and easy solutions are made and justified as "Christian" though they be directly contrary to the teachings of Jesus. The fate of human beings outside their own tight little group is no responsibility of theirs. A threat to their own welfare, even to their selfish interests, is falsely identified with an affront to Christ himself. An assumption of pharasaical self-righteousness develops and a clear vision of the meaning of the Christian commandments becomes almost impossible. No such easy road as this is open to the Christian in politics who understands what the demands and implications of the Christian religion really are.

In recent years we have actually witnessed the spectacle of men opposing the admission into the United States of even a reasonable number of the displaced persons of Europe, and doing so in the name of Christianity! Most

of these displaced persons are refugees from the excesses of either fascist or communist dictatorship. If anyone can be said to be the least of these, Christ's brethren, here they are. Needlessly to deny them a haven in a free nation would seem to be as clearly contrary to Christ's teaching as anything could be. And yet self-styled "Christians" have fulminated against them and dared in the next breath to call upon the name of Jesus.

Other examples of the same sort of thing are all too easy to find. Indeed, the whole fascist philosophy of blind, narrow nationalism, of hatred of the organizations of the people, of appeal to the use of force to put the "best people" into power sometimes is wrapped by its exponents in the false mantle of a "defense of Christian civilization."

At the opposite extreme, there are buildings which are called churches in which meetings are held in the name of religion but where the place that should be occupied by worship is taken by speeches which attempt to justify the course pursued by Soviet Russia and to make excuses even for the cruelty of some of her actions.

Neither the bigotry and hate-mongering of an extreme rightist like Gerald L. K. Smith nor the slippery attempts of his counterparts of the extreme left to use a pseudo-religious cloak for their studied apology for the excesses of communist dictatorship can by any stretch of the imagination pass for a Christian influence on the political life of our country.

Christian influence in America's political decisions is not to be found in the activities of men and women who, having made up their minds to follow the dogmas of established economic or political creeds or to serve the narrow interests of their own class or party, attempt to justify their predetermined ideas in pseudo-religious terms. Christian influence is felt only when it comes from Christ himself, through wholly willing servants, whose convictions are rooted in understanding of the full gospel with its

inescapable requirement that our existing society be progressively transformed into one of genuine brotherhood. It is inevitable that different individuals will differently interpret the meaning of words. But the test is one of motive. A person whose motive is to use the Christian gospel as a cloak and excuse for opinions he himself desires to hold cannot exert Christ's influence upon the course of events, however regular his attendance upon church services may be. A person whose motive is to find the mind of Christ and then apply it wherever it may lead him is bound to exert Christian influence in all that he does.

When we speak here of being Christian, we mean not only the acknowledgment of Christ as Saviour but also devotion to the teachings of his entire gospel and obedience to his commandments, beginning with and emphasizing most the great commandments. And while the attempt of any man at perfection in this regard can be no more than a poor gesture, and while dependence upon the Grace of God for salvation will be man's one ultimate hope as long as he exists, nonetheless the Christian cannot fail to make that attempt with whole-souled singleness of purpose.

The task of the Christian who enters politics is a hard one indeed. This is not because "most politicians are dishonest" or because "a man has to be a crook to get ahead in politics." It is because the Christian is constantly called upon to reconcile as best he can the imperative demands of the Christian commandments with the basic fact about democratic political action, the fact that no one can have entirely his own way about anything. The Christian in politics has to do the best he can to find ways and means of expressing practically through political action his Christian concern for the welfare, the strength, the full development, and the freedom of all his neighbors. Seldom will he feel a full, deep satisfaction with a work completely

well done. Seldom will he gain the peace which passeth understanding. Almost all the time he will be in conflict.

But do not these very facts make the challenge all the greater? I believe that they do. And I believe, further, that as Christians—especially young Christians—think deeply about the problems of our times more and more of them will take up that challenge and do their full part in preserving and strengthening the institutions of democracy. For those institutions are after all, the one kind of political institution known to us upon which a truly Christian society might, with will and devotion, be built.

The greatest motive force in all human life is self-sacrificing love. It is because Christ sacrificed himself, not only upon the Cross but in a thousand other ways as well, that his spirit remains today as it was 2,000 years ago the master of men. No great work has ever been accomplished in all human history except through pain and sacrifice. No artist has painted a great picture without giving something of himself, without suffering some pain, in the process. No author has written a great book without putting into it part of the very sinew of his mind and life. No child has been born into the world except by the travail of his mother. And as a rule, it is true that the greater the work accomplished, the greater the sacrifice required of the workman.

And so the Christian will choose a political career not in spite of its difficulties but rather because of them. The deeper his Christian conviction, the more it should be true that the worse he believes American politics to be and the more difficult its problems the more likely will be his entry into it.

The best in man and the best in human institutions is frequently brought out not by prosperity and ease, but rather by adversity and danger. Strong men see the truth most clearly when there is the greatest need for them to see it. May this not be the reason why the churches of

Germany—Catholic and Protestant alike—are today taking hold of political and social problems as they never did in the easier days before Hitler came to power? In times past, the churches in Germany have been perhaps less ready than the churches anywhere else to grapple with the economic problems of their people. But today, confronted with want and privation, with the threat of communism, with the presence of occupation armies, those churches are concerning themselves with employment for the unemployed, with housing co-operatives for the homeless, with education and better conditions of labor and dozens of other programs that are in many respects political ones.

What the churches of Germany have seen because they have had to see it, may not the churches of America realize before their people are driven to such extremities of need? There are some evidences that this is beginning to happen. Along with other lobbyists of very different sorts there is registered in Washington a representative of the American Friends Service Committee who spends his time working to influence Congress toward passing measures which the Friends believe will advance the cause of peace or lead to the relief of suffering. Some religious voices have rung out clear and challenging on certain issues. Two Catholic monsignors and a Congregational minister have, for example, been through the years the most fearless and effective Washington defenders of the interests of the really poor people among our rural population. Increasingly the Federal Council of Churches [1] and the National Catholic Welfare Conference concern themselves with and speak out upon Christian political issues as they arise in Washington or elsewhere. Agencies have been created within the Methodist, Congregational, and other denominations,

[1] On November 29, 1950, merged with seven other co-operating, interdenominational Protestant bodies to constitute the National Council of the Churches of Christ in the U. S. A.

the major purpose of which is the exertion of Christian influence upon the course of government.

Some of the most forthright support for moves to strengthen the United Nations into an agency capable of preserving peace has come from representatives of the churches.

When the lines were drawn in the 80th and 81st Congresses for and against badly needed measures for more adequate housing for the people, the voice of religion was clearly heard in support of that legislation.

Nor is this effort to bring Christian influence to bear upon the course of politics limited to national church organizations. Some local congregations and parishes are doing their very best. There is a Methodist church in the congressional district which I used to represent which makes a practice of inviting all candidates for national and state offices to speak at a church supper during the course of each campaign. After the candidates' talks there is a question period. The church makes no attempt to commit its members to the support of any candidate. It does, however, give its members an excellent chance to decide for themselves.

I know another church, however, of the same denomination and in the same congressional district where the minister was almost removed by the clamor that arose among a certain group of his congregation when he attempted to introduce the same plan there.

A new spirit, a spirit of responsibility to the word of Christ on the one hand and to our fellow human beings on the other, is beginning to move through the churches of America.

As yet, however, this new spirit has not attained the quality or strength of the voice of prophecy which the times demand. As yet, few saints consecrated to the cause of a humanity about to be crucified on a cross created by

its own neglect of moral principle have been produced. As yet, the fear of reactionary attack—of which there has been considerable—and worry over possible loss of financial support have prevented consistent leadership on the part of the churches.

The full impact of Christian influence upon the course of our country will not be felt until Christians stop compromising with the adolescent escapism which pretends that old political and national patterns can safely continue in the same world with atomic weapons. There are some dangers to humanity which the Christian church must meet head on and meet with vision—such, for example, as the danger of the destruction of decency and freedom and most of humanity in an atomic war. But so far the churches have been hesitant, perhaps because old and deeply established political conceptions are involved, or perhaps because church leaders have not more widely recognized the imperative necessity of informing themselves upon political issues and studying their Christian implications.

Through CARE and C.R.O.P. our churches have done much Christian good in the relief of hunger and need in many parts of the world. But there are Christian answers to the deep stirrings of the peoples of Asia which our churches have not yet proclaimed.

A new spirit is moving within the churches, but it is not moving fast enough nor powerfully enough. It probably will not do so until individual consecrated Christians in great numbers are willing to see that they are called by God to constructive political activity and the achievement of political leadership and having counted all the costs to follow that call wherever it may lead them.

6. "Are There Christian Political Issues?"

WHEN THE Wisconsin dairy farmers speak about doing one's Christian duty at election time, they are assuming that there will be Christian candidates to vote for and that there will be Christian issues to be decided.

To our shame, it must be said that this is not always the case. Earnest, capable, devoted Christians who ought to be willing to make the necessary sacrifices to become candidates for office offer themselves all too seldom. And issues which should challenge the conscience of every thoughtful member of the Christian church are allowed to become twisted and confused—if indeed they are presented at all—because thoroughly Christian voices are silent with respect to them.

Are we to conclude then that the political issues of today are such that they do not touch the principles of the Gospels or affect the Christian conscience? Are we to conclude that all the problems of life with which Christians must concern themselves are nonpolitical in nature and can be solved—in even this age of universal interdependence of man upon man and nation upon nation—by other than political means?

No! No such conclusions can honestly be drawn. It is true that there are many needs of the people which should be met by the free co-operative effort of the people rather than by crying for the government to relieve them. It is

true that certain of our fellow citizens are much too prone to look to government rather than to themselves and their neighbors for the solution of their every problem. But after all this has been said, there remain great areas of our common life today where wrong and injustice and conflict exist and where political action is the only sort of action that can effectively deal with them.

There are political issues facing us which have a right and a wrong from the Christian point of view. There are political issues which no conscientious Christian can either avoid or pass by on the other side.

For example:

There were in the time of the great depression many millions of people unemployed. They were unemployed, not because they did not want to work, nor because they and millions of others did not need very badly the goods they would have produced if they had been employed. These people were unemployed because something had gone wrong with our economic mechanism, something over which the individual unemployed person could exercise exactly no control whatsoever.

I was intimately acquainted with many of these people. I was acquainted with the families that had gone up into the canyons of California where they were able, by dint of very great effort and the use of very primitive methods, to pan out perhaps five dollars worth of gold a week. I was acquainted with many of the hundreds of thousands of unemployed people who had organized self-help cooperatives, gone out to trade their labor for surplus farm crops like carrots and cabbages, and devised a whole system of work credits which were used to exchange commodities within the self-help group. I had seen political influence strangle these truly noble efforts. But most compelling of all was the tragic problem faced by young people in our country during those years. I was a school teacher. Our

school was both a home and a school. Our boys came from broken homes or from no homes at all. They made our school their home until they finished high school. They learned a number of skills, mechanical, agricultural and others. They were good boys, well prepared, well equipped to render worthwhile service to society. They were normal young Americans with normal desires to find the right girl, marry her, and raise a family.

But to none of these opportunities or experiences could they look forward during those depression years. This seemed to me the very depth of social injustice. It seemed an unforgivable waste of the talents and the good impulses with which God had endowed millions of young people all over the country.

Some way had to be found to correct these conditions.

So one reason at least that prompted me to become an unsuccessful candidate for the California legislature in 1934 and a successful candidate for Congress in 1936 was the hope that I might make some contribution toward a solution of the great social injustice of unemployment. I believed then, as I do today, that unemployment with all its devastating effects upon human hope and human character is a political issue with which Christians are compelled to grapple.

And while some measures have been taken—the Social Security Act, the Securities and Exchange Act, and a few more—which will somewhat cushion the shock of another depression should it strike, the basic problem of economic maladjustment which causes mass unemployment has not been solved at all. It was only buried under the avalanche of war in 1941. It has remained a hidden menace under the military expenditures that have been required by the international tensions that have followed the war.

Are Christians to rely upon war to relieve them of the necessity of finding a long time fundamental solution to a great social wrong? Are Christians to forget that the one

thing that would do more to advance world communism than any other single influence would be a return of mass unemployment to the United States?

No!

Well, then, here is a political issue with which Christians must deeply concern themselves until a solution for the unemployment problem, within the framework of freedom, has been found.

But this is only the beginning. Indeed it will be impossible to outline or even to mention in this chapter all the problems and questions of a political nature which challenge Christians today. The best we can do is to suggest a few of them and thus to prove that they do exist and that, therefore, to neglect active political effort to meet them is to fail in Christian duty.

There is the problem of soil conservation, of the preservation for future generations of the God-given fertility of the land upon which life itself depends. Despite the great progress that has been made since President Franklin Roosevelt proposed the first soil conservation act in the nation's history, the destruction and erosion of our soil fertility is still going on more rapidly than we are rebuilding it. Are Christians to say, "After us the deluge," and to fold their hands complacently in the face of this fact?

Is it a Christian concern that millions of children are born and grow to manhood and womanhood in slums where bodies are sickly and minds twisted and marred? It is no answer to say that the American people as a whole are better housed than any other people on earth except, probably, the Scandinavians. Jesus said, "Inasmuch as ye have done it unto one of *the least* of these my brethren, ye have done it unto me." As long as a single slum area exists in a single city, there will be an issue there for Christians to meet. Slums cannot be cleared at a profit. The job simply does not lend itself to private enterprise.

If it is to be done at all, there must be public action at some level—local, state, or federal—and probably at more than one. Housing co-operatives offer great hope. They have proven an answer to the housing problem of middle income and lower income families in a dozen countries of Europe and in a number of American cities. But the co-operatives, unaided, cannot take responsibility for wiping out the slums and rehousing the very poor. If, as we know is true, the children of the slums are of exactly equal worth in the sight of God with executives and presidents, kings and dictators and if, as is the case, the solution of their problem requires some sort of political action, then here is a political issue which will challenge Christians as long as a single slum area remains.

Modern science has greatly lengthened the span of life. More and more people are living into advanced years. But very few of them, however hard they try, can set aside enough savings during their earning years to provide themselves with enough to live on in their later years. What are they to do? It is little wonder that old age pensions have been a lively political issue in recent years. Some people say this should not be, that our older people should be cared for by one kind of charity or another.

Well, there are one or two churches that actually do make some provision for their older members whose relatives are unable to care for them. And perhaps if all Christian churches were willing and financially able to supply decent support in some manner that would preserve dignity and self-respect to all their older members who needed it, then Christians might with some logic contend that provision for the aged need not be a political issue for them. How far we are from such a practical sort of fellowship in the church is unfortunately not difficult to see. And for that reason Christians must answer for themselves the question as to whether they should leave the vast majority of the aged people of the country to

dependence upon uncertain charity or to actual destitution, or whether the broadening and improvement of the social security system is not a Christian obligation. The social security system is a product of American politics.

More will be said in a later chapter about how the finding of God's intended use of all natural resources and social inventions seems to me to be a master key to Christian decisions about political and economic questions. Here it will be enough to say that I still believe that the rather simple idea I had while I served in Congress about so-called food surpluses was right. One of the struggles of those years that will always mean most to me was the move to establish a school lunch program as a constructive way of putting a part of such surpluses to good use. Certainly farmers should not be called upon to suffer simply because, in working with nature, they have produced an abundance of food. And surely there cannot honestly be said to be a surplus as long as any children are not getting the nourishment their minds and bodies need. There can, it seems to me, be no wholly Christian answer to the problem of food surpluses except that they be used to reduce hunger wherever it exists in the world. And I propose that we begin at home with such American children as can not take full advantage of the educational opportunities we provide at public expense because they lack a balanced ration of food.

Vice and crime are wrong not only by Christian standards but by the standards of elemental human decency. Nongovernmental agencies can do far, far more to combat these evils than they have ever done. But essentially they are problems of society as we know it and political measures are required if they are to be effectively dealt with.

Simple honesty in government is a Christian political issue surely. The way to have honesty in government is to have honest people in public office. We could have that overnight if a fraction of the sincere Christians who could

win elections would try to do so—especially in local government—and if they were actively supported in their campaigns by a fraction of the Christians who ought to support them.

It was largely among the people of the churches that support was found for the establishment in America of a system of public schools. Is there any question today but that it is a matter of Christian concern whether the education our children are receiving is of the kind that will develop the best of the talents and abilities with which the Creator has endowed them? I think not. Our schools are controlled by school boards and school boards are elected by the people in democratic political elections. Most of them are nonpartisan. But they are certainly not nonpolitical. Matters affecting our children's education are Christian political issues.

The greatest issue of our time, the issue of war and peace, of world law or world anarchy or world dictatorship, is essentially a political issue. No Christian will dare to deny that it is an issue fraught with awful significance for him, for his church, and for his religion. To say that war is unchristian is to state a fact so obvious that it requires not one word of argument. War violates every principle which Jesus taught. It destroys human life. What is even worse from the Christian viewpoint, it destroys brotherhood and replaces it with hatred.

The only question is: Can there be something worse than war, by Christian standards? Are there times when even modern total war, worse by a thousand times than the mere battles of the past, is a less evil choice than some frightful alternative?

There are times when Christians are called upon to decide this far more difficult question than the simple, self-answering one as to whether war itself is right or wrong. Are there circumstances when even Christians have

responsibilities to their fellow men which they can discharge only by accepting war as the only means in this sin-ridden world of fulfilling them? For us of today the question can be even more sharp. Is it less wrong to prepare for and to accept war if need be as a means of trying to establish a world rule of law by the democratic will of the peoples than it would be to allow a world government to be brought about by conquest by a ruthless anti-Christian dictatorship?

The convinced Christian pacifist will have no difficulty in answering these questions. To him the use of any violent method is worse than any conceivable alternative. To him no good end can possibly be gained if violence is used in an attempt to reach it.

But there are many other Christians, equally sincere, who will contend that, since we know that forces of wrong will use *any* methods to gain their ends, the Christian is compelled to defend what he believes to be right with such means as seem necessary *in this world* to accomplish that purpose. These Christians will say that responsibility comes first and peace second. They will recognize the horrible nature of war and its even more horrible consequences upon the human spirit. But they will say that some things—such as human slavery—are even worse than war.

When all is said and done, Christ's admonition to us is not that we must strive to *live* for any stated period, but rather that we be prepared at any moment to die with courage, faith, and hope. Perhaps in our time, when every one of us—at least those who live in large cities—must live under the very shadow of death, a full understanding of the meaning and value of the Christian gospel will be realized as never before in history.

Christians should agree—and the day is certainly coming soon when they will agree—that the system of unlimited national sovereignty and the constant threat of war which

is inherent in that system cannot continue much longer in the same world with atomic bombs. But even this conviction does not answer the question as to exactly how we are to bring the world to accept a new and better system so long as nations of very great military power are ready to use that power to prevent any limitation on their sovereignty, even a limitation willed by the vast majority of mankind.

Such questions this book does not presume to answer. It only contends that they are issues that no Christian can possibly avoid attempting to answer to the satisfaction of his own soul. And they are questions which involve not alone national politics but world politics as well. If Christians are to work with any real effect for the establishment on this earth of the peace that is the will of God, then Christians will have to be in positions of political influence.

One fact is clear. Had the full influence of the Christ, His full message with all its implications, been carried into every realm of life, as it should have been carried by His followers, the Christian would not today be facing the soul-searing questions which do face him and from which he cannot escape. Had Christians been about their Father's business both in and out of the realm called politics, the world could never have sunk to the depths we now have reached. We are reaping the results of the tragic default of generations of Christians who have left politics and political decisions to the control of those who were in many cases but mildly concerned with obedience to Christ's commandments and in other cases not at all. It is our fault, the fault of those of us who have known the answer to the problems of mankind but have told of them only in our churches and our homes.

We must, then, live as best we can in the world as it is. We must try to live without fear. We must build for the

future as if there were to be one, regardless of our worst forebodings.

I believe there are three basic Christian principles upon which a whole Christian program—which is in part a political program—can be built to the glory of God.

The first of these is the principle of human brotherhood. Wherever and however that principle is violated a Christian issue is raised, and to the extent political means can be used to end that violation, they should and must be used, to the limit of Christians' ability.

The second is the principle of voluntary mutual aid among people. It applies to all social groupings from the neighborhood to larger communities. Whatever discourages mutual aid is wrong from the Christian viewpoint; whatever encourages it as a basis for human relationships is right. It is not enough for Christians to say—even though it is altogether true—that mutual aid to have meaning must be spontaneous and voluntary. It is only enough if Christians see to it that in every proper and effective way the influence not only of the church and of other social agencies but also the influence of government itself is used to induce a greater practical expression of the urge to mutual aid among us.

The third principle is that of the right use of the gifts of God. Whenever there is waste or destruction of something which He intended as a blessing to mankind, a sin is committed. Whenever there is exploitation of a human life or a human talent, there is sin. Whatever measure, political or otherwise, will bring about right use of the gifts of God according to his intent is Christian. Whatever has the opposite effect is unchristian.

There are Christian issues through all our life. And, today especially, many of them are political issues.

7. "Shall I Run for Political Office?"

THERE ARE MORAL issues that face mankind today on which the Christian must take his stand and bear his witness. To fail to do this is to turn our backs on the troubles and distress of our fellow men and thus to violate the second great commandment.

Some of these issues can and will be settled only by political action.

But if Christian decisions are to be made in our political life, then there must obviously be at least *some* Christians in a position to help directly in making them. So it must be the clear duty of a certain number of Christians to become candidates for public office.

Who are those Christians?

Is one of them you or I?

And when and under what circumstances should a Christian announce his candidacy?

These are questions that must be answered carefully and wisely. For it will do neither our fellow men nor ourselves any good merely for a lot of Christians to be defeated in every election.

First of all then, you—the Christian who is wondering about this—must ask yourself whether you know exactly what the issues are which you want to help settle in a Christian way. You must be sure you have a deep con-

viction with regard to those issues and the problems they represent. You must be sure that you are willing to do anything in your power to see that effective Christian influence is brought to bear in deciding those issues. You must be sure you are seeking office not for its own sake, but for the good you hope to accomplish through holding it.

Second, you must be sure you know just where and how the issues in which your concern is deep and strong can best be settled. If they involve the schools, it would be foolish to run for Congress, because most school questions are settled by school boards. If those issues involve the city slums or the public health and sanitation, or crime and vice, the chances are that you can do most good if you can be elected to your city council. If your concern is over mass unemployment or the power of economic monopoly or war and peace, then your place, if you can get there, is in the United States Congress.

On the other hand, it is not always practical for a person entering politics for the first time to run for exactly the office he most desires to fill. It would, in most cases, be foolish, for example, for a person to run for the United States Senate as his very first political effort. The exception to this rule would be an older person whose name was unusually familiar in the state because of activities carried on in other fields. There are, also, almost always a few individuals without political experience who have so caught the imagination of the people by their lifetime accomplishments that their names are mentioned as possible candidates for president. But the number of such figures who have actually been nominated and elected is tiny indeed. Most of us have to start fairly close to the bottom and work up.

And it so happens that it is at the political bottom, (that is, in local and state offices) that Christian influence upon politics is needed most.

Let us suppose, then, that you know just what your objectives as a Christian in politics will be and that you know also just how it would be logical and wise to start your political career. Is that all that is required to answer the question: "Shall I run for political office?"

No, it isn't. There are more questions to be answered.

The first one is: Do you like people? Do you naturally and instinctively like many different kinds of people in many walks of life with many different interests and peculiarities? If you do, then you have one of the most necessary characteristics of a successful politician. But if you find it hard to warm up to people, if those who are a little different irritate you, if it is hard for you to bridge with quick understanding the gap between your own experiences and the different experiences of others, then you probably would better look for another field of Christian service. For human beings are strongly inclined to respond to one another in kind. People like—and hence will be apt to vote for—people who, they feel, like them.

I never understood why I was elected to Congress, despite the fact that it happened to me five times. I could always think of so many reasons why I should not have been elected that each time when I did win it seemed that some sort of miracle had happened. It may be, however, that the factor just mentioned had something to do with it. For I do like people. I have handled railroad freight, and I have liked the men I worked with at the yard. I have worked in factories, and I have liked the people I worked with there. I have taught school and learned to have a real affection for nearly every child I taught. I have worked on farms and spoken to hundreds of meetings of farmers, and I value deeply many of the friendships I have made. I have lived in the South and understand, I think, the concerns and points of view of the people there. I have lived North and East and West and, without trying to do so or deserving the slightest credit for having done

so, I have liked most of the people with whom I have been thrown. This, I believe, made my political work much easier. I think that other people sensed how I felt toward them and were consequently willing to overlook more of my shortcomings than would otherwise have been the case.

The next question is whether you have laid the foundation which must be laid for any political career—most of all for a Christian one. That foundation is the place you have made for yourself in the community where you live and the district in which you will run. The right kind of a political candidacy is almost always a by-product of other kinds of worthwhile activity. It is true that some politicians have made politics their life's work from the earliest years of their majority. But such cases are rare and mostly confined to workers in the ranks of big city political machines. A far better approach and the only one, I think, which you can use as a Christian candidate, is through some form of worthwhile service to your community which, without your seeking it, gains recognition from your fellow citizens. That service may take any one of a thousand different forms. Perhaps you are a doctor, a dentist, or a public health worker who has contributed to the health and well-being of many people. Perhaps you help to run a small business where good labor relations are maintained and where customers are treated with fairness and honesty. Or you may be a farmer who has worked his land well, as if it were God's gift, and who has joined with his neighbors in co-operative organizations to work out the solution of common problems. You may be a worker in a great industry who has risen to a trusted position as a leader of your fellow workers because you are resourceful, honest, and fair. You may be a teacher, as I was when I ran for Congress, who has taught many children about good government and the problems and

achievements of democratic society and who wants now to try to put some of his own teachings into practice.

But for most of us, the way will probably be through the many, many avenues of nonvocational service which are open to us all. Any of us can be the sort of man or woman upon whom the people in his community tend to rely because he is always willing and ready to do his part in community tasks—in the drive for funds for the hospital, in developing a recreation program for young people, in leading the scouts or the 4-H club work, in improving the schools, in helping to clean up a local political mess, or in working for better understanding between various groups among the people. The point is that somewhere, somehow, the earnest Christian can find either vocational or avocational work to do which will be worthwhile in itself but which will also give him the favorable acquaintanceship and the good name among his neighbors which ought to be the foundation upon which every political career is built and which must be the foundation for a Christian political career.

Now we come to the hardest question of all: Are you willing to make the necessary sacrifices and to pay the necessary cost? There are tactics frequently used in politics which the Christian simply cannot use. But neither can he expect that others will refrain from using them against him. The Christian politician cannot malign the character or the good name of his opponent. He cannot, for example, insinuate that his opponent is giving aid and comfort to communists when he knows this is not true (even though to do so has seemed a fairly certain formula for election). If he does such things and if he wins the election, it will be a hollow victory and he will really have lost the better part of it. But he will usually find his own good intentions distorted and ridiculed. He will frequently find his good name and character attacked.

And sometimes even his devotion to his country's basic democratic principles will be called in question.

But this is not the hardest part of it. Most of us, if we have deep purpose in our hearts, can bear personal attack and fight back with cleaner weapons. Our wives will usually be ready to stand beside us and give us courage. But when you have a boy or girl who has to go to school with children whose parents have shown them your opponent's political advertisements and when your child has to take taunts and mean remarks because his father has been depicted as a person unworthy of the confidence of his fellow citizens, then it really begins to hurt.

What ought to happen in such cases, of course, is that the members of Christian churches in communities and districts where such political tactics are used should rise up in protest and put the basic facts to rights. They should do this in the interest of fair play and in defense of the democratic institutions of our country, even if they are firm in their determination to vote for the opponent of the man whose basic good name they thus defend. But the political records of our country are sadly lacking in instances of this kind. The reason this is so is the reason this book is being written. It is because the average church member in America takes, in effect, the attitude that his Christian duty stops at the borders of politics. If this were not the case, the life of our country would bear a far deeper Christian imprint than is the case today.

Other sacrifices will be called for, too, from the Christian who enters politics. He will find it hard to spend a quiet evening with his family. He will have to work harder than he has ever worked in all his life for reasons a later chapter will explain more fully. And all too seldom will he feel the warm sense of satisfaction that comes from a task completed and completed according to his highest Christian ideals for his work.

But the cost that is hardest to pay is the abuse which up

to the present time, at least, is considered even by otherwise decent people as a necessary part of our political campaigns. If the Christian who feels called to enter upon a political career can pay that cost then the rest of his sacrifices will not be too difficult for him to make.

If you believe you are prepared to make these sacrifices, if you know what the problems are which you want to help solve in a Christian way, if you have a reasonable plan about where and how to start your political career, if you like people of many sorts, kinds and backgrounds, if you have built for yourself a worthwhile place in your community, then the answer to the question, "Shall I run for political office?" is, yes.

But suppose that for one or more good reasons the answer to this question is no. Then is there nothing of consequence the Christian can do?

Far from it.

Politics in a democratic nation is not a mere contest between candidates. It is a contest between groups of people. A candidate without devoted followers and supporters is lost before he starts. For every thoroughgoing Christian who becomes a candidate there need to be dozens of thoroughgoing Christians working for his success at the polls. Some of them will need to be people willing and able to canvass their friends and neighbors and talk to them about the Christian candidate. Some of them will need to be people willing and able to write effective campaign literature. Others—who can very well be young people in their teens—will have to pass out this literature at appropriate times and places. Of central importance will be the finding of at least one or two Christians who have the skill to write persuasive advertising copy and with knowledge of where and when to run such copy. And there must of course be many, many Christians willing to donate money to the cause. The more of them

there are and the more modest their contributions, the better, because this will avoid the undesirable situation where a large proportion of the funds comes from only a few sources.

While sometimes all this work will be done as part of an independent crusade for an independent candidate, most of it will be done through the party organization of the party on whose ticket the Christian candidate is running.

But probably the most important single service which Christians who are not themselves candidates can render is that of working within those voluntary organizations to which they already belong. This type of work requires wisdom and good judgment. Since we are assuming that our candidate is in every respect devoted to the whole of the Christian gospel, one type of voluntary organization within which such discussion can properly be carried on is the church itself.

There are others. There are the farm organizations and the labor unions, the civic clubs and businessmen's organizations, the women's organizations, veterans' organizations, and a lot more. In every case there will be opposition. In few cases will it be possible to persuade the entire organization to endorse or commit itself to the Christian candidate. But it is in such voluntary organizations of the people that democratic political life has its roots. And in most of them the membership will cut across party lines so that support gained within their ranks will be doubly effective. Whenever possible arrangements should be made for the Christian candidate to address one or more regular meetings of such organizations during the course of the campaign.

Above all, there is a type of service which is desperately needed today. Not alone for the sake of electing Christian candidates to office but for the preservation of democratic political institutions themselves. This is the service of

helping to form truthful, unprejudiced, and thoroughly informed public opinion.

Like almost everything else in the modern world American politics is being streamlined and subjected to controls which the forefathers could never have foreseen. The formation of public opinion, which ought to be a spontaneous growth of ideas among the people as they discuss in face-to-face groups the solution of their problems, has become to an alarming extent a mass production process over which the sheer expenditure of large amounts of money exercises at present a very great influence. Those forces which have a large financial stake in the outcome of elections are constantly trying to persuade us that mass organizations of the people—particularly organizations of labor and farmers—are able in some dangerous manner to control elections. The simple statistics of the outcome of elections in recent years do not bear this out. Neither labor nor farm organizations nor any other mass organization of the people has demonstrated an ability to deliver any considerable proportion of its vote. On the contrary, a surprisingly small percentage of the poorer people of the country vote at all, except in time of great stress and under circumstances where they see quite clearly what the issues are.

Moreover, we have seen repeatedly how the very charge that a mass organization of the people was out to elect or out to defeat a certain candidate has caused the majority of the voters to rush to the polls determined to prevent that mass organization from succeeding. And the net result in such situations is usually the opposite of that desired by the mass organization.

Elections are by no means won merely by campaign activities. Largely they are decided by the general temper of public opinion as it has been formed—or deliberately conditioned—during the periods between campaigns when the people's guard is down and when they do not even

know they are being carefully prepared for the next election. And this work is carried on more and more constantly and relentlessly by those who can afford it through the hiring of the best and cleverest brains which the country possesses. Some of these brains have boasted that over a reasonable period of time and with enough money at their command they can make the people believe almost anything. And evidence is not lacking that they are right. To the extent that they are right democratic political institutions are in real jeopardy. The propaganda tactics of communists and fascists present too close a parallel to this kind of procedure for complacency on the part of anyone who deeply values democracy and freedom.

It must be made quite clear that we are not talking about legitimate advertising of products or services by American businesses, however large they may be. Legitimate advertising is a very different thing from the sort of so-called institutional advertising which conditions the people's future political responses and does it altogether too successfully. Some such campaigns are conducted for the most worthy of purposes. Some great corporations have devoted large sums to paying for advertising campaigns on behalf of the strengthening of the United Nations, for example. Others have done a fine work in presenting the values of freedom or individual responsibility. But the fact that a whole science of making the people think a certain way has been developed and that the service of those who have mastered that science can be purchased for large sums of money should give us profound concern.

The record is replete with instances where such public-opinion-forming campaigns have sought not to inform but to deceive the American people. For example, one such campaign which has filled both newspaper columns and the radio air-waves seeks to implant the idea in people's minds that there is something socialistic about rural electric co-operatives. The idea is presented—and with con-

summate cleverness and persuasiveness—that whereas it is thoroughly American for one closely held corporation to own and control all the power lines and generating equipment which serve the farms of a certain area, there is something socialistic or un-American if large numbers of those very farmers as private citizens organize a privately owned co-operative enterprise belonging to themselves to furnish their farms with electricity. The fact is that the second method is even less socialistic than the first because there are many more active private owners of the co-operatives than there are of the proprietary business. These farmers who never had electricity until they brought it to themselves through their co-operatives are learning to own and run private businesses. It is true that many of their rural electric co-operatives have borrowed money from the government, every penny of which they are repaying and must continue to repay with interest. But so have many power companies and railroads and corporations of every sort borrowed money from the government. And no one cried, "Socialism!" over that. And yet many people in America are no doubt persuaded today that rural electric co-operatives are socialistic in conception and practice.

It is a Christian duty to correct, so far as possible in the public mind, such false ideas.

Again, very large sums of money are being expended today to persuade people that co-ops don't pay taxes. Because this campaign has been cleverly contrived many people believe exactly what the campaigners want them to believe. But, whatever minor adjustments in the tax status of co-operatives may seem wise or necessary, the fact is that co-operatives do now pay taxes and, for all practical purposes, under exactly the same laws that apply to any other business. But co-operatives do not have the funds to meet on anything like equal grounds the well-financed campaigns being carried on against them.

Even more serious is the attempt to condition the

American mind in certain matters affecting international relations. Whole books have been written for distribution by well-financed organizations, the purpose of which is to persuade the people that almost any kind of activity on the part of government is akin to communism. In one such book the theme is well developed that there is hardly a distinguishable difference between British Socialism and Russian Communism. And a surprising number of people seem to be believing this. No difference indeed! No difference except that Britain is America's one most dependable and close supporter in the world wide contest now going on between institutions of freedom and institutions of totalitarian serfdom throughout the world! No difference except that should the tragedy of World War III strike the world Russia's first bombs would probably fall on Britain! No difference except that a simple majority of the British people could tomorrow by peaceful election expel from office the Labour Party and replace it with Winston Churchill, whereas even 90 per cent of the Russian people could not by force of arms unseat their present government from its position of absolute power unless the army itself were to aid them!

There are deep differences at present between the American and the British points of view on economic questions. There are measures being taken in Britain which most Americans would oppose with great vigor in this country. But there are deeper considerations than these differences of domestic policy today.

There is the question of preservation of freedom and democracy into the world of tomorrow. Britain is our ally in that effort. One wonders whether some forces at work in this country to condition our opinion put first the safety of America and her institutions and her need for allies, or whether they put first their own particular opportunities for profit.

In any case, the challenge to the Christian who does not become a candidate for office, as well as to him who does, is clear. There is a herculean task to be performed in our country in preserving the integrity of the people's thinking. In every crossroad hamlet and on every city street corner and in every home and in every meeting there is a Christian duty to be fulfilled.

It is the duty of telling the simple truth, of putting one's fellow citizens on guard against falsehood from whatever source and however cleverly packaged. It is the duty of helping one's fellow citizens to see the real facts of our life today through uncolored glasses and to make up their minds on the basis of all the evidence as Americans and Christians should.

Public opinion controls politics in a democracy rather than the reverse. Public opinion is the opinion of many individual people. Every word that one person says to another one has some bearing upon it. And the words of those who take the trouble to inform themselves thoroughly first and then to speak with their neighbors may, over the years, have a measurable effect for good.

8. "What Does It Take to Win Elections?"

TO WIN AN election, it is necessary that more votes be secured for a candidate than for his opponent or opponents. The job, therefore, is to familiarize more people with your candidate's name or to cause more people to like your candidate

personally or to bring more people to agree with his ideas than can be done for his opponents. It sounds simple, but it certainly isn't.

Every adult citizen has a right to vote. But unfortunately not all of the people do so, nor do all those who do vote have a clear idea of exactly why they are voting as they are. This is why party labels, and, to a lesser degree, party organization are important factors in the outcome of elections. It is much simpler and easier to decide to vote the Democratic ticket or the Republican ticket than it is to decide in the case of each office on the ballot which of the candidates is the best man. American voters ought not to be looking for simple, easy ways to run their government. But many of them do exactly that, especially where the so-called "minor" offices are concerned. By minor offices we mean all offices except President of the United States, governor of a state, or United States senator.

So we have to start with the fact that a considerable percentage of the vote in all elections (except nonpartisan local ones) tends to be party-label votes, cast without much knowledge of the relative worth of the candidates as individuals. Some of this straight party vote is cast by people who believe in one party or another and who regularly vote for the candidate of their party. The rest of the straight party vote is cast by people who in a given election decide to vote for one party or another because they think that party is more nearly right than any other one as to the issues in that particular election. Obviously, the more votes that are cast as a result of thought and conviction and the fewer that are cast as a result of habit, the better and stronger our government will be. This is why it is so important that issues be drawn as sharply as possible between parties and candidates in each election.

One of the most important services which Christian

politicians can perform is to force the real issues out into the open and compel their frank discussion.

The party vote in America, as in other countries, follows trends. A trend, as nearly as we can describe it, is a general movement of public opinion or public feeling in a certain direction. Examples are trends toward isolationism or toward international responsibility, trends toward or away from governmental controls in times of stress, trends toward or away from economic and social reform.

It is difficult to buck a trend, because it is so hard to reach a large enough percentage of the voters with your message. Furthermore, if the trend is strong, people's minds will in many cases be closed and logical agreement will do little good. For example, in the election of 1946 I found myself facing a trend wherein the people, worn by the stresses of the war, wanted a change. They felt that the Democrats had been in office long enough and that a change would be a good thing. So long as people held to this view, it was obviously impossible to persuade them to vote for me because I was the incumbent and they just couldn't have this change if I were re-elected.

But trends have, here and there all through American political history, been successfully bucked. It takes unusual candidates backed by unusually concerned followers to accomplish such a result, but it can and has been done. Sometimes the Christian politician will find himself trying to do this very difficult job. By himself, he probably will fail. If the Christian church were thoroughly awake to its full accountability for the fate of democracy, he probably would not fail.

Now we are discussing in this book the need for practicing Christians, men and women who dare to apply the Great Commandments to the practical problems of life, to seek through political activity to guide the course of

their communities and their nation toward Christian objectives. We are concerned with people of deep strength of character and of Christian conviction. Therefore, we can say that such candidates and their supporters would be wrong to isolate themselves from the normal operations of the political system of our country. It does not work perfectly. It is subject to abuse, like all things human. But it is on the whole by far the best political system yet devised and it is wide open to improvement all the time by anyone willing to try sincerely. The job of correcting what is wrong with a political organization can only be done from the inside, however. Never from the outside.

Convinced Christians, like other citizens, will as a rule have a preference for one of the political parties. It will never be a blind loyalty, since the Christian's loyalty, all of it, goes to just one figure, the figure of his Saviour. But the Christian political candidate can in good conscience be, and certainly should be, an active member of the political party which he believes most nearly right at any given period. He cannot take orders that are in any way contrary to his Christian principles. He must not give anyone the impression that he will take orders. But he can and should work with the party of his choice in legitimate and proper ways. He will want to attend its meetings if for no other reason than to exert his own influence upon decisions. He will meet some people whom he will neither like nor respect. He will meet others for whom he will, in course of time, have genuine regard. The proportion as between these two groups will be about the same as would be the case in a service club, a labor union, a farm organization, or any other group.

There is no good reason, therefore, why the Christian candidate who survives the primary election should not count upon a normal vote as a candidate of his political party, particularly if his Christian supporters in large numbers are at work in that party organization.

Clearly, however, it will not be upon such a vote that the Christian politician will place his reliance. It is not likely that the Christian politician will be an enthusiastic choice of party leaders in primary contests, and the primary is always the first job. He won't be dependable enough from the party leaders' point of view. But there are many districts and many offices in America where party leaders in any effective sense just don't exist. In all such cases the primary field is wide open. And even in places where party organization does amount to something, sensible party leaders won't seriously oppose an obviously able man of high character even if they are somewhat fearful about his regularity. The reason for this is that the leaders will know that such a man or woman will have a good chance to win in the finals. They will also know that he will be an asset to their whole party ticket in the eyes of conscientious citizens.

In the primary elections, as well as in such nonpartisan elections as those for school boards and some county and city offices, each candidate must stand before the voters as an individual and without the advantages (or disadvantages, according to the trend) of party affiliation. The object of the Christian candidate and his supporters will be to persuade as many of the voters as possible to vote for him because of the principles for which he stands. It would be a much better state of affairs if this type of work constituted the whole of a political campaign, as indeed it should. And it is the clear duty of the Christian in politics to try to force every campaign into this realm of genuine discussion of the issues and problems that confront the people.

But, unfortunately, the straight party vote is not the only block of votes that is cast without any very deep thought. Many students of American politics estimate that as many as 30 per cent to 40 per cent of the voters cast their ballots without having given any real consideration to the

way they will vote before they actually step into the ballot box. The percentage would, here again, be considerably lower in the case of the presidency, governorships, or senatorships where front page publicity is usually given to the contest.

No candidate, not even the Christian candidate, can disregard so huge a block of votes. What is he to do about them? This is likely to be a distasteful part of the job. For the discouraging fact seems to be that most of these voters cast their ballots simply for a name which they have heard, and usually without remembering very clearly just what they have heard about it. These are the people for whom billboards mar the landscape with smiling politicians' faces or just their names on them. These are the people for whom advertisements which say nothing more than "vote for me" are inserted in newspapers. These are the people who give a certain type of politician the excuse for saying, "It doesn't matter what kind of publicity you get so long as you get it. The important thing is to have your name mentioned often enough."

The candidate, who may dislike doing some of these things, can take some comfort from the fact that such attempts to gather in the subconscious vote may cause resentment among the people who actually believe in democracy and freedom—and act like it. But he should not take too much such comfort. If he is to win, he must both in the general election and especially in the primary find dignified, constructive, and effective ways of reaching these people. This can be done.

In the seven elections in which I was a candidate, I won five times and lost twice. Not a single billboard ever was used by us in any of these campaigns. To be perfectly honest, there were two or three reasons for this, one very powerful one: the billboards are expensive and we never had nearly enough money for billboards. But even had we had the money or could have gotten it, I would not have

used the billboards because I feel sure that the people whose support I valued most would have resented them. There is, of course, nothing morally wrong with a good billboard. And probably in a statewide election they are almost necessary, especially for a candidate who has been little known before. But in the smaller districts they are not essential. And there are other ways to get your name before those voters who are unlikely to listen to anyone's argument, including yours.

The best such method is that of personal contacts of one kind and another. As many such contacts as possible should be made by the candidate. But, except in the very smallest of the political units like town or county council districts, he can never begin to cover everyone. So it becomes a question of developing broad, active and, so far as possible, organized support. What this support means in simplest terms is a number of able, likable people who are willing to make it their business to tell other people about their candidate. Such people are none too numerous, because few of those who could make such contacts with good results are willing to take the trouble. This is why I have frequently made the remark that as few as a dozen capable, intelligent, and determined people willing to work tirelessly at the job can in the course of four to six years change the representation in any congressional district in America. That statement may sound extreme, but the reason for it is that there are so small a number of such people hard at work in our political life today.

The goal of a candidate who sets out to win an election is to establish at least one vocal, effective supporter in every neighborhood in his district. This is the organization right down into the precincts about which political leaders speak so often. In some cities, political machines do come fairly close to a full precinct organization, which is devoted to the election of party tickets. But the goal is seldom reached by individual candidates. The only sensible

course is to develop as much of a neighborhood or precinct organization as possible. The candidate should begin to build his organization with loyal personal friends who are also ready to support him politically. As the campaign progresses, others will come forward or can be found to take responsibility for contacts in other neighborhoods. Sometimes there will be enough people in one neighborhood who are sincerely interested to form a committee to carry on the work. Here, again, it becomes clear how important are the rank-and-file Christian workers.

Finally, there is the possibility of paying precinct workers. Well-heeled candidates and those having the support of wealthy organizations are sometimes able to do this. For most candidates it will be impossible financially even if they believe it good policy. For the candidate with a sincere Christian purpose, it is extremely doubtful policy to pay precinct workers.

There will, however, be exceptions to this rule. There are occasionally people of sincere conviction who really need a little additional income, and a modest payment for their work can well be made. In all of my own campaigns there were a few such people. I remember with deep appreciation one elderly man who is a real leader in his neighborhood and who was my sincere friend and supporter. At the beginning of each campaign I would take him a supply of my literature and give him a twenty-dollar bill. He would contact his friends and neighbors both in the primaries and in the general election and I never failed to carry that neighborhood by a substantial majority.

There are several ways in which this general contact work on behalf of a candidate can be carried on. The most effective is the informal conversation between friends and acquaintances. A more certain method is the house-to-house canvass which is altogether desirable if done by tactful, sincere, and earnest people. Another way is to do it by telephone, which is generally less effective but which

can, for obvious reasons, be used to reach a larger number of people and which is especially useful in areas where the candidate has no neighborhood or precinct workers. Telephone campaigns can be carried on in a whole city by a group of willing people. Their calls should be brief, they should avoid argument, and they should be mainly concerned with acquainting the person called with the name of their candidate and the fact that he is a good, dependable, honest man or woman.

One hundred women each making ten telephone calls a day for ten days would reach 10,000 people. This is more than the margin of victory in most congressional elections. It is about a fifth of the vote cast in most state legislative districts and more than a fifteenth of the vote normally cast in most congressional districts. The only problem is to find the hundred women. It would seem that candidates of unquestioned Christian conviction and purpose should be able to find that number of willing helpers in the Christian churches if nowhere else. The fact that this has seldom happened up to this time is only an illustration of how much the Christian forces of this country could accomplish if they tried.

A certain amount of newspaper advertising is an important factor in winning elections. It offers an opportunity for a candidate to state his position on important issues. It presents his name to many people. And it is only fair to the newspapers which the candidate expects will carry some news of his activities to spend some money with them on advertising. Newspaper ads cost money. Large ones cost more money than most candidates can command. But one method that has many desirable features is to secure sponsorship of such advertisements by groups of respected people in each community. The signing of their names to the advertisement will give it more weight than if the candidate places the ad himself.

Every candidate needs a supply of campaign cards and

literature for distribution. His supporters can hardly do effective work unless they have such material to leave with people. A great deal of very careful work should be expended in the preparation of this literature. It should tell in as few words as possible the candidate's background, his reasons for running, and his stand on important issues. It should urge people to vote.

We come now to that part of the job of winning elections which most people think of as constituting the whole job. This is the work of the candidate himself. Most of that work should be directed at that group in the population who take seriously their responsibilities as citizens.

The central problem of the candidate is to reach with his message certain people in each community to whom numbers of people in those communities have learned to look for leadership, not only in politics but in other realms of life as well. It is not difficult to find out who these leaders are. With as many of them as possible, the candidate should sit down and talk personally and at length. He will not actually convince them all to support him. But even those whom he does not so convince will feel more kindly toward him for having taken the trouble to come to see them. I recall one lady who runs a store in a section of very modest homes and who, because she is kindly, friendly, respected, and well informed, influences the thinking of the whole area. I recall also an attorney in a certain city who, though he belonged to the minority political party of his town, was so highly respected by everyone that his good-will was invaluable to any candidate. I have known community leaders who were farmers, who were wage-earners, who were judges, and who were housewives. Some are well-to-do, some are very poor in wordly goods.

Not all the people who claim political leadership in their communities actually possess it. As a general rule, the ones

who have genuine influence make no claims at all. When I first entered politics, I was told that a certain man simply had to be contacted and given money if I was to expect any substantial vote in a certain area. For what I felt were good reasons, however, I could not respect this man. I did go to talk with him, but I asked nothing from him and certainly I offered him no compensation for his support. He was angry. He did not support my candidacy. But I did very well in what he chose to call his section just the same.

Another group of people whom the candidate should go to see are the leaders or organizations whose support he would be proud to have. The fact is that there are many people in public office who depend primarily for their elections upon the unwavering support of one or more organizations which are especially strong in their districts. This sort of relationship, however, is generally brought about by the willingness of the office holder to do almost anything which those organizations ask him to do. There are very few organizations in our country to which the Christian candidate or office holder can conscientiously pledge himself completely. All of us are wrong at least some of the time. And for any man or woman to pursue anything approaching a Christian career in politics requires that he be free in every sense of the word to do the bidding of his conscience. Nevertheless, there are many organized groups whose basic purposes will be such that no compromise with principle will be involved if you, the Christian entering politics, seek their support on the basis of your own platform and program.

So far nothing has been said in this chapter about speeches. Many politicians discount their importance, and if the speeches are made only to small groups of already convinced supporters, they are no doubt right. But it is largely through speaking to the people whose votes he is asking that the candidate is able to make clear his purpose

and objectives and to draw the issues of the campaign. It is my conviction that in at least two of my own campaigns it was our public meetings that constituted the principal factor in success. Ways must be found, however, to bring to the meetings considerable numbers of people, particularly people new to the candidate. For this reason, it is important that as many opportunities as possible be made available to the candidate to address meetings of groups of people organized for other than political reasons. Here the candidate must rely on his friends and supporters. Those who are members of men's or women's clubs, of farm organizations or labor unions or civic clubs or veterans' organizations can be of great assistance. They can help to arrange for the candidate to speak to regular meetings of such groups.

Fortunately for most of us, the qualities most Americans value in a political speech are not polished oratory or bombast, but evident sincerity of purpose and clarity of discussion of the issues as they affect the group being addressed.

Another method requiring much work on the candidate's part, and one which is most worthwhile, is the neighborhood meeting in the home of a friend. This friend can invite a number of families to come to his or her house at a certain time to meet and talk with the candidate. Many will come to such meetings who would not go to public meetings; and the opportunity for give-and-take discussion is clearly much greater.

These neighborhood meetings were much used in my own campaigns. Practically all the newspapers in the district were on the other side, for the understandable reason that they were owned by people on the other side. We lacked the funds to finance large mass mailings to the voters, or to put up billboards, or to carry any great amount of political advertising in the papers. Public meetings were seldom attended by very large numbers of people and

those who did attend were usually already pretty well convinced of their own positions.

So I went to the people, where they lived, and covered as many neighborhoods as the days and nights available for the campaign allowed. First I would make a list of the families who, I felt sure, would be glad to invite their neighbors for such a meeting. I would set aside certain late afternoons and evenings in my date book, planning generally to cover two or three such meetings on each of these dates. Then I would telephone or go to see my friends on the list and ask each of them if he would be willing to arrange for a meeting in his home and which date would be most convenient for him. In this way a schedule of these meetings was set up.

At the agreed upon time I would go to the house where the meeting was to be held. Ordinarily from twenty to forty people would come. Usually the hostess would ask me to open the discussion with a short informal talk on the issues of the campaign. Then there would be questions and general discussion for maybe an hour. Then followed a few refreshments and a neighborly social time. Sometimes I could stay for this, as I liked to do. Sometimes I had to leave for another similar meeting at another house.

The total number of people reached directly through neighborhood meetings was not so very great. But, assuming the people who did attend were reasonably satisfied with the discussion, each such meeting had the effect of creating a group of people in a community who felt acquainted with their candidate and who would continue to discuss his qualifications among themselves and with others in that area.

In any case the neighborhood meeting is a method of political work which can be used by any candidate in any district and usually with helpful effect.

The Christian candidate will have to work very hard indeed to win his election. He will have to do all the things set forth in this chapter and many more besides. But there are some things he will not have to do.

First of all, he will not have to be dishonest. Some advisers will no doubt urge him to be just a little dishonest in order to gain certain votes. But elections are won more often by gaining the full confidence of the people through careful statements than by attempting to mislead them. In the second place, he will not have to put himself under obligation by accepting campaign contributions from wrong sources. In political constituencies no larger than a congressional district, it is not absolutely necessary to have a big campaign fund. It is possible—never easy, but possible—to win elections by methods that do not require large outlays of money. And, most important of all, the Christian candidate will not always have to be elected in order to win the main objectives of his compaign. He may be defeated—he no doubt will be defeated—on many occasions. But it will be the kind of defeat that leaves him in position to try again. If he is true to his principles and purposes, as he must be if the term "Christian candidate" is to be accurately applied to him, he will have gained the confidence of many people and the admiration perhaps of many who have voted against him. He will have built well for the future, not only of himself but of his country and community.

There are a great many factors that contribute to victory or defeat in political contests which it has not been possible to include in this chapter. We can best conclude it by saying that if there are enough people in his constituency—be it school board district or an entire state—who are speaking well of him in the normal course of their conversations with their friends, he is almost certain to be elected. Perhaps this is to state the obvious. But the point of doing so is that it illustrates once again the potential

influence which the Christian people of this country could exert. The largest single voluntary organization in the United States is the Christian church, if all denominations are included. If, therefore, even a minor fraction of church members were to support actively the election of men and women who have become candidates because of their desire to carry the influence of the Great Commandments into our political life the good results would be almost incalculable.

9. School Boards, Local Councils, and State Legislatures

EACH GENERATION as it passes across the stage of life from the mystery of birth to the mystery of death has one function to perform which is more elemental and closer to the heart of life than all the rest. That function is procreation, the bringing into life of a new generation.

It is little wonder, then, that love of a parent for his child is the most unselfish and in many respects the deepest love we experience. We nurture our children through the years of infancy. We labor with light hearts to provide them with a happy environment and opportunity for growth in body, mind, and spirit. We plan through the years for their future.

We have established schools designed to give to our young in a few short years the best of the knowledge and experience of past generations, to teach them the tools of skill and information they need to carry on life's activities,

and to develop their talents and abilities. As life becomes more complex, specialized, and interdependent, the child depends more and more on the school to equip him to hold his own in the society in which he must live. Next to the home and possibly the church, the school is the most important influence in our children's growth and development.

Education means a process of drawing out of a person what is within him. And within every one of us as we came into the world there were some special latent gifts and talents. Unless these are drawn out and helped to develop in the formative years of life, they are likely to die within that person. The home must begin this process. The school must finish it.

These special gifts and talents are as many and various as there are people. No two human beings are exactly alike. Is it unreasonable, then, to believe that each of us brings from God some unique contribution to the life of his fellows on earth? That contribution may be the ability to plow a straight furrow, or to write one poem; it may be the ability to make mechanized things run, or to speak a kind word to a stranger or a friend; it may be the ability to shed new light upon religious truth, or simply to walk humbly with one's God; it may be the ability to fill a seat of government wisely and well, or to do the even harder task of holding up the hands of him who does so.

The first great challenge to our schools and their teachers, then, is that of developing the talents and abilities and the creative imaginations of our children. This is the task of educating for the world as it ought to be, the task of encouraging the next generation to believe in themselves, in their own destiny, in their ability to remake a part of their environment, in their strength to build a better world.

But this is only half the challenge to the schools. The other part of their task is to educate for the world as it is,

to prepare our children to meet, well equipped, life as they find it, and, God willing, to win through to a worthwhile place in it.

Our schools are, most of them at least, public institutions. They are political institutions. They are good or poor depending in part upon the resources of the community but in greater part upon the complexion of the political life of the community.

Schools are conducted by their teachers. But they are governed by school boards chosen at political elections. If all our school boards in America were good school boards, we would have to worry comparatively little about the caliber of our future Congresses or the quality of our national life.

But all our school boards are not good school boards. Nor, for that reason, are all our schools good schools. And the principal reason why these things are so is that not enough good candidates, not enough deeply Christian candidates for example, offer themselves in school board elections and then fight with all their strength to win those elections.

Our school boards are not the only local nonpartisan bodies that vitally affect the quality of our life in America. There are boards of health, sanitary district commissions, park and recreation boards, highway commissions, and many more. Some are elective, some appointive. Most of them are in need of the services of truly devoted Christian citizens as members. And in most cases if such citizens came forward they would have comparatively little trouble, at least over a period of time, in being elected or appointed to such public service bodies.

We read much in the public press about the need to strengthen local government. In many newspapers the federal government is represented as a great ogre gobbling up the strength and vitality of the agencies of local gov-

ernment. Rather, I think, the cause and effect are the other way around. The federal or state governments move in where local government has proven itself too weak to meet the problems of the day. And the basic weakness in local government is lack of interest in it on the part of citizens who ought to be intensely interested. Here is a challenge to the Christian forces of America which they cannot possibly escape. For here the problems of crime and vice rear their ugly heads. Here schools are made the pawns of machines that know next to nothing about true education, and care much less. Here in the local communities the slums fester and stunt the lives of children. Here dishonest politics are more in evidence than at any other level of government. And it is in campaigns for city and county councils, for positions in local government, that an aroused and determined Christian church, led by some avowed and determined Christian candidates could, with persistence over a few years, transform the character of local government where it needs such transformation.

That is, such an achievement is possible if we, as Christians, face honestly and without fear our evident political obligations.

It is probably true that half the members of all the state legislatures in the United States are people of mediocre ability and character. There are several reasons for this. One is that the best and ablest members of state legislatures tend to graduate to offices of broader scope. They run for Congress, perhaps, or for a judgeship, or for governor of the state. Another reason is that the average citizen pays less attention to good government in his state than he does to good government in the nation. He may become excited about the election of a governor. He seldom takes any great interest in the election of an assemblyman or a state senator.

But the main reason—and the least excusable one—why our state legislatures are not of higher caliber is the fact that, on the whole, the citizen of real ability and high purpose—the convinced Christian citizen, for example—seldom offers himself as a candidate for his state legislature. It is perfectly true that in many states the members of the legislature are poorly paid. In some states they are so poorly paid that they must either have independent incomes, or have businesses or professions, such as the law, which they can carry on at the same time that they are serving in the legislature, or be constantly subject to the temptation of accepting favors of one kind or another from special interests which desire to control the legislature.

Most of our criminal and civil law is on state, not national, statute books, and is enforced by state governments. Our school systems are state, and local, not national systems, and their caliber is largely determined by the quality of state legislatures. Most of the legislation in the field of public health and welfare is still passed by the states, not by the national government. While it is true that we have tended to place more and more obligation upon the federal government and less and less upon the state, nevertheless a very great amount of both power and responsibility still rests with the governments of our states.

And if there were no other argument for the strengthening of our state governments, the old one about water not being able to rise above its source would be sufficient. For, to a large extent our national Congress is a reflection of the legislatures of the states. A very large percentage of the members of Congress have previously been state legislators. If state government is mediocre, unimaginative, or corrupt, we can hardly expect anything so very much better from our national government. If state government is good, forward-looking, wise, and honest, the same will in all probability be true of our federal government.

There are some shining exceptions to the statements that have just been made about state legislatures. In general it can be said that Kansas and Nebraska have for many years been governed by groups of earnest men and women of sincere purpose and incorruptible character. Of some other states the same can be said.

Generally speaking, however, here is a field that is wide open for Christian influence. It is wide open because there are hundreds of earnest Christians of outstanding ability in practically every state legislative district who could, if even reasonably supported by other Christians in these districts, gain election to their state legislatures. Where the incumbent has had long service and has built up a considerable following, it will not be easy to unseat him. But even in such cases persistent effort behind a thoroughly fine candidate can win out, if not at the first attempt, then at the second or third.

The real question is: When will Christians decide that both their religion and the institutions of their country are important enough to call for such persistent effort to serve them better than we have thus far done?

I think of three people as I write these lines about state legislatures. One is a cowardly little man, a scheming, selfish fellow whose very family, I believe, almost despises him. He has held a place in one of our state legislatures for almost twenty years because he has, without hesitation and probably for a price, done the bidding of one powerful group in the district he is falsely said to represent. In all that time he has never been seriously challenged in an election, certainly never by a man or woman of devoted Christian character. Had he been, neither he nor his henchmen could have stood against that challenge.

Then I think of two other people, a man and a woman who have served the cause of democracy—and I would unhesitatingly say the cause of Christ—in exemplary fashion in two widely separated state legislatures for many years.

The man was and is a Christian minister. He continued his ministry while he carried on his duties at the state capital. As a legislator his work bore unmistakably the stamp of his calling. As a minister his word was with greater power because he was carrying it out in the practical business of life. The woman was and is a housewife and a mother. She taught Sunday School before her election and she teaches it still. When tides of prejudice and hatred threatened on one occasion to sweep the legislature in which she serves off its feet, she stood like a rock and pointed out that the action proposed was unchristian in conception and could not but have unchristian results. And she, along with others who stood with her, won the day.

America needs many more such people in her state legislatures. So does the Christian church. And so does the cause of humanity.

10. The Civil Service

THE NUMBER OF people employed by government in the United States—by states, counties, and cities as well as the federal government—has increased greatly in recent years. It has increased much faster than the population of the country. This has been due to many factors, chief among which are the tremendous expansion of the armed forces and related civilian personnel and the demands of the people for more and more services from government.

It is also true that the average American does not like bureaucrats. He has been taught to dislike them. He has

also been taught to apply that word to almost anyone who works for government.

According to that definition, bureaucrats with heavy bags over their shoulders bring our mail to our homes every day, other bureaucrats put out our fires, still other bureaucrats protect our forests, help us conserve our soil, teach our children, enforce our laws, collect our taxes, and defend our country.

Either there are a great number of good faithful, efficient, even heroic bureaucrats, or else we are using the wrong words and letting ourselves be deceived by half-truths.

There is a certain amount of what may be called real bureaucracy in our government. We find it wherever small people pretend they are great and where they happen at the same time to be occupying a position with the government of a city, state, or the nation. We find it wherever a government official, agency, or department becomes more concerned with extension of its authority than with doing an exemplary job in the public interest.

There are without question weaknesses in our civil service system. For example, some of the rules still provide that the amount of the salary of a bureau chief or the head of a section depends upon the number of people who work under his direction. In such a case, the influence of the system may work against efficiency, by discouraging reductions in staff to the point of greatest efficiency. Again, there is the problem of determining the capabilities of a person for non-technical work. Written examinations are clearly inadequate for this purpose. Such examinations can show how many words a stenographer can type in a minute. They can demonstrate whether a person knows the chemistry of soils. But written examinations cannot reveal the capacity of a person for a supervisory position or one where he or she will be called upon to exercise judgment or to become in a measure a leader of other people. How

to select the best people for the great number of jobs requiring such qualities is indeed a problem.

Moreover, there can be no question but that self-serving groups have tried to take advantage of our governments by attempting to secure the employment of as many of their members as possible. There is no doubt that the Communist party has tried to do this. That they succeeded in some instances has been shown by evidence. That they used subterfuge and deception to accomplish their purposes is also proven by evidence. The Communists' aim and purpose is to infiltrate, weaken, and ultimately destroy not alone the government of the United States but every democratic institution which exists anywhere in the world. It is high time that these democratic institutions of all sorts become thoroughly awake to this fact and take measures to defeat these Communist tactics. Most such institutions, especially in our own country, are doing and have for the past several years been doing exactly that. Certainly our government has been doing so.

This is an exceedingly serious matter. But the Federal Bureau of Investigation and other law-enforcing and protective agencies must be—and I firmly believe can be—relied upon to keep our government clean of Communists.

And it will be tragic indeed if the American people permit themselves to be deceived into believing that whole departments of the government of the United States are deliberately harboring disloyal persons on their payroll or failing to do everything in their power to prevent any such people from being employed.

Careful, thorough, and fair investigation by Congressional committees can be most helpful in exposing the purposes and tactics of Communists and other disloyal totalitarian organizations, so long as such investigations are not used as vehicles for partisan political advantage.

But the blanket charges of headline-seeking senators and congressmen against large groups of government em-

ployees can easily do far more harm than good, for three reasons. The first of these reasons is that in the battle against communism we need all the able allies we can get—especially from the anticommunist left—and that such tactics throw such allies into the same category with the communists themselves. The second reason is that in the long run no one but the Communists themselves benefit by such tactics. The Communists benefit because their one best hope of carrying out their nefarious plans is to keep the American public confused as to exactly who they are. The worst thing that could happen to the Communists from their own point of view is to be effectively isolated in the public mind and clearly identified. Careful investigation by experts can do exactly that. But such a situation is impossible as long as great numbers of people in some government department or elsewhere are being accused without evidence of being Communists. The best thing that can happen to the Communists from their own point of view is for them to be associated in the public mind with large numbers of perfectly loyal and earnest Americans, especially if those Americans are in the forefront of efforts to benefit the people generally and defend their interests.

The third reason why blanket accusations, especially by members of Congress, against government employees are a very bad thing is that they discourage all but the boldest of souls from keeping or taking positions in the government. This results in markedly weakening the efficiency of our government agencies.

The acid test of any democratic government or any democratic society lies in the quality of its civil servants. If the people who are entrusted with the administration of the laws and with doing the workaday work that has been given to government employees to do by act of Congress, if these people work even harder and more efficiently in the public interest than they would in jobs where they were

primarily engaged in making money for themselves, then the nation is strong at its core. But if these government employees do less than the day's work they would do in private employment, if they try less hard to effect economies of expenditure, if they take little pride in their accomplishments, then the nation becomes weak at its core.

Morale is more important in a government department or agency than it is in a private business, for many times morale is the main influence that keeps the public work going in an efficient manner. The incentive of looking forward to any large income is absent from most government employees. And so are some other incentives that drive people to greater accomplishment in other walks of life.

The public employees of the people of the United States have a right to be, and we need to have them be, proud of their work. Congressional efforts to improve efficiency in government departments are certainly commendable, so long as they are based on accurate knowledge and prompted by understanding. But much of the propaganda against our own government is so unwise and so bitter that it cannot but be destructive of the morale of government workers. And should the time ever come when great numbers of people are unwilling or afraid to be known as public servants in the employ of their government, then our democratic institutions will be indeed imperiled.

I do not believe any such result has taken place as yet. On the contrary, while some government agencies may be overstaffed and while some inefficiency undoubtedly exists, it is probably true that the general level of accomplishment per worker in the various agencies of the United States government is at least as high as that in the larger private companies. And the same can be said of many state governments and some city and other local governments.

Surely here is a challenge from which Christians cannot turn away. If the standards of our civil service were raised to a point comparable to that achieved long ago by the British, if more and more of our most capable citizens were to seek to serve the nation as public employees, we would need have far less fear of communist or fascist infiltration, and we would need to have far less concern about the basic soundness of our free institutions.

The most effective way for persons concerned about the problem to improve the quality of service to the people of governmental agencies is to obtain positions in those agencies and work for their improvement from within.

The opportunity is almost as broad as human life itself. There is need for laborers, for clerks, for typists, for chemists, for engravers, for soil experts, for writers, for artists, for accountants and statisticians, for economists, for conciliators, for administrators—the list covers most of the skills and occupations of life.

Perhaps, as I have said, the payrolls of our governments have become larger then they need to be. If so, the only way to reduce them substantially is for us, the people, to express real willingness to do without some of the services we now demand of government.

But if there are now more people employed by government than need be the case, that is an added reason why more earnest people, people more capable of responding to a call of simple duty, people with a deeper sense of responsibility to others should enter government employ. That is the only way they can raise the standards of accomplishment.

Furthermore, the more difficult it may become to induce other capable people to assume government positions, the stronger will be the Christian's call to duty and service. For example, there is probably no group of people anywhere in the country who have been more roundly abused over a larger period than the diplomats. There have at

times been good and sufficient reasons for such abuse as to some of them. But what is more needed in times like these than devoted, skillful, and resourceful representatives of our country in various parts of the world?

And in general it can be said that except for the need for a stable peace, there are few needs of our nation today which are more urgent than the need for applicants for government positions whose motive in applying will be primarily their desire to serve the nation and its people well.

Even under present circumstances it is not, of course, an easy thing to secure a position in government service. There is no dearth of applicants who are looking for soft jobs. Against such applicants, some of whom will have political influence, the Christian must compete. He should be as well prepared as possible.

Fortunately more and more of our colleges and universities are offering courses of study specifically planned to prepare students for one kind or another of a civil service career. Fortunately, too, many governmental positions are of such a character that experience in certain types of nongovernmental jobs will admirably fit a young man or woman to fill them. Notices of civil service examinations are regularly posted in all post offices throughout the country; and if a person writes to the Civil Service Commission in Washington he can obtain, direct from the commission, notices of examinations in specified fields. It is possible for anyone to study in preparation for such examinations and to gain a high rating as a result.

If Christians in the United States are in earnest about carrying their message and bearing their witness into the realm of government, they will not all run for office. They will also—some of them—find their field of service in the ranks of the mistakenly called bureaucrats, the men and women whose daily round of duty makes democratic gov-

ernment and free institutions possible for all the rest of the people.

If enough convinced Christians were to do this, the time would come when every American would view with admiration the personnel of his government, when many of the ablest and best of our citizens would vie with one another to improve the caliber of the work of our civil service, and when attacks upon government employees would cease because there would be so little ground for them.

11. The Congress of the United States

WE HAVE SAID that local government is the foundation of our democratic political system and that the civil service is the test of its basic soundness. Nevertheless, it is still true to say that the Congress of the United States is the capstone of the governmental structure and the forum where the most far-reaching decisions are made.

In late December, 1936, I arrived in Washington, a newly elected Congressman from California, to take my place as a member of the oldest constitutionally established national legislature in the world.

I remember some of my thoughts and feelings. The aims and objectives about which I had spoken in the campaign and which had been so clear and simple then seemed during those first few weeks in Washington to be shrouded in fears and uncertainties. Would I ever be able to make a place for myself in this large body of 435 members?

Would I be able to gain a hearing for what I so much wanted to say? What was the real truth about how legislation was actually framed? Did personal contact behind the scenes actually have more effect on the business of Congress than committee sessions and floor debate? If so, where did one begin in developing those contacts?

I had had no legislative experience of any kind. I had never held a public office before. I had, therefore, everything to learn.

That process began immediately.

Within a few weeks I had learned that the members of Congress are not very different in most respects from an average group of American citizens. They come from almost every walk of life, with lawyers rather seriously overrepresented. They are a little more intelligent than the cross-section of the population which they represent. They are, on the whole, about as conscientious and about as honest as an average group of good citizens in the United States. Few of them can be described as great, though many of them, for the sake of our country and the world, should be. On the other hand only a few of them can be described as mean or small or venal.

Most members of Congress are friendly. They have to be. It is part of their business to be. Most of them like people, which is one of the reasons they manage to be elected. It also makes it easier for a new member to become at least superficially acquainted.

It does not take the new congressman very long to discover that there are certain members of both the House and the Senate who exert a very considerable amount of influence. When they speak either on or off the floor, other members listen, and sometimes even change their minds. During the ten years of my service, one of those members was the Speaker of the House; some of the others were committee chairmen. But there were other committee chairmen whose influence was actually such a negative

one that bills reported by their committees hardly ever were passed, even when the bills themselves had real merit. On the other hand, there were four or five members who held no committee chairmanship nor any other position of leadership but who exerted a marked influence upon the action of the House. Influence in the Congress depends more upon the characteristics of the person exerting it than upon the position which he holds.

It is true, however, that most of the members of greatest influence have been elected many times and have had long periods of service. Many of them come from relatively safe districts, that is, districts which are so overwhelmingly either Democratic or Republican that there is little chance of an incumbent congressman's being defeated. Others come from districts where the people seem to have sensed the fact that if they want their representation in Congress to have maximum weight, it is wise to continue a reasonably satisfactory representative in office instead of making frequent changes. These personally influential members are people of strong character as a rule. Most of them are also, by nature, conservatives. Just why this should be I have found it difficult to explain. In part, however, I believe it is due to the fact that it is easier for a conservative to be reelected over and over than for a progressive, assuming both of them to be strong and worthy men. The progressive is a man with a program. He is subject to attack on every point of that program. But the conservative needs no special program. He is reasonably content with things as they are. Many times all he needs to do is to say "no" to the proposals of the progressives. And unfortunately—perhaps we will soon have to say tragically—it is easier to unite people against forward-looking proposals than it is to unite them in favor of them.

At the other extreme in Congress from the highly influential members is a somewhat smaller number of mem-

bers who may impress the new member at first, but who have no real influence at all. These are the members who quite obviously are primarily interested in making the headlines. Usually they are people who have selected some special objects of hatred and are constantly haranguing the House or Senate on that particular subject. They are people who have no hesitation in proposing the most extreme or unwise measures if they think these measures will be popular at any given moment. Frequently they receive a lion's share of the publicity about Congress, and that is precisely what they want. But their colleagues in the House or Senate are more likely to vote against them than with them when the roll is called.

The Congress of the United States has faults and shortcomings but a false sense of values as to the personal worth of its own membership is not one of them. When a new member takes his place, there will be a period of curiosity and of appraisal with respect to him. But before long his colleagues will begin to form their judgment. And it is seldom wrong. It is not based upon their agreement or disagreement with the views of the member in question. It is based primarily on whether he is accurate and able, whether he is fair and just, and above all whether he rings true and is honest and sincere. If he passes these tests, he will be respected even when he finds it necessary to stand entirely alone on many an issue.

For this reason it can be said that while a member of Congress attempting to pursue a thoroughly Christian course may find himself fighting a lonely battle at times, nevertheless he can obtain, as a rule, a fair if not an altogether sympathetic hearing for his views. The opportunity to bear Christian witness in the Congress of the United States is open to any man or woman with the courage and conviction to bear that witness.

The question may be logically asked, why then does outright Christian influence seem at times sadly lacking

in the deliberation and decisions of our Congress? The answer lies, I think, not so much with the members of Congress as with the people whom they represent. Perhaps the question can be answered best by asking another question. In how many cases have representatives been sent to Congress with a clear mandate from the voters who elected them to go there and apply to every issue the principles of the gospel? And in how many cases have members of Congress known that if they did that, as nearly as any human being can, they would receive the active support in so doing of the churches of their districts?

And yet it is in the Congress of the United States that decisions will be made in the next few years which will determine whether constitutional democracy as a form of government and a method of social organization is to win or lose in a great world struggle for the allegiance of the people. It is in the Congress of the United States that decisions will be made which will determine the opportunity of millions of people to apply Christian principles in their relations one to another. And it will be in the Congress of the United States that decisions will be made which will affect for good or ill the course of international relations and the issues of peace and war. Other factors will be at work of course. There are other nations whose decisions will be nearly as telling upon the course of events as our own. But the leadership of a large part of the world is in our hands, as Americans. Whether or not we discharge it as we should will depend to a major degree upon what our Congress does. And what our Congress does will in turn depend on what we the people make plain that we want it to do.

The Congress, generally speaking, is a pretty accurate reflection of the will and opinion of a majority of the American people.

It is, however, a great mistake to think of the Congress as if it were one unified agency. Its very purpose is to bring

together representatives of the different ideas of millions of different people and to give them the difficult task of reconciling those views sufficiently well to produce law and policy.

To the average newspaper reader, the Congress is divided between Republicans and Democrats. This picture of the Congress is only partially an accurate one. It is true that in recent years there has been more and more of a tendency for the Republicans to be on the conservative and the Democrats on the progressive side of most issues. But there are now and probably will be for some time to come certain Democrats who are even more conservative than most of the Republicans. And there are always a few courageous progressives who bear a Republican label.

The more important division of the Congress from the point of view of the American people is a division according to basic viewpoints of the members rather than party adherence. Four general points of view are—or have been—clearly distinguishable among Senators and Representatives. At the extreme left there has been a group of members who were either unable or unwilling to distinguish between an honest American progressive devoted to the fundamental institutions of his country and the Communists themselves. In one of the Congresses in which I served it was my belief that there were four members who were actual Communists. At least these four members followed in their voting the line of the Communist party without deviation. No other member of the House did so. For example, I remember one occasion when I offered an amendment to a bill which would have strengthened enforcement of the anti-trust laws. These four members all voted, along with the most reactionary members of the House, against that amendment. From the Communist point of view monopoly is desirable, since it strengthens the impact of their propaganda and, in their opinion,

paves the way for their revolutionary opportunity. The last of these four members lost his seat in the election of 1950. There were, however, other extreme and confused left-wing members, who, though by no means Communists themselves, made the fatal mistake of regarding Communists as simply more extreme left-wingers, instead of regarding them as essentially revolutionary schemers after supreme political and economic power. Never was this extreme left-wing group in Congress very large. During the five Congresses in which I served it never numbered more than fifteen or twenty members. Events and revelations of the post World War II period practically wiped it out.

At the extreme right there are in the Congress a group of members considerably more numerous than the extreme left, who can best be described as reactionaries. These are the members who really believe in government by the rich, the well-born, and the able, and who would like by some means to return to a day when such government was more likely in America than it is today. They tolerate rather than believe in the democratic institutions of our nation. And they distrust the people and especially any organizations formed by the people. This group probably numbers about two-score members in House and Senate. But its ranks are not diminishing; it is extremely vocal; and it exerts far greater influence than the extreme left ever has done or probably ever will do in the United States.

Between these two extreme groups are found the vast majority of the members of Congress. They are in agreement with one another in their basic devotion to the democratic process of our constitutional form of government. They are prepared under all circumstances to abide by the freely expressed will of a majority of the people. The idea of attempting to subvert that will by force would not occur to them.

But they differ from one another on most issues and they have quite opposite ideas as to how the essential values of the past can best be preserved into the world of the future.

These are the conservatives on the one hand and the progressives on the other. The conservatives believe that the basic values of our heritage can best be saved for the future by preventing change from taking place too rapidly. The progressives believe that our heritage is likely to be lost unless constructive change takes place rapidly enough.

Generally speaking, the conservatives are in favor of letting business alone, while the progressives believe that monopoly is a grave danger to democracy and that business can properly be subjected to certain regulations in the public interest. Again, conservatives will generally be none too friendly to organized labor or to organized agriculture, for that matter, whereas progressives will view such organizations of the people as an altogether good thing in a democratic society. Conservatives will oppose, as a rule, governmental measures seeking to assure greater security to the people or to solve problems by governmental measures, whereas progressives will, as a rule, favor such measures.

Now the question for us here is: To which of these four groups should a Christian member of Congress belong? A part of the answer is easy. He could not belong to either the extreme right-wing or, if any, the extreme left-wing group. He could not do so because both of these groups are basically wrong from the Christian point of view in their attitude toward human beings. Neither of them believes fundamentally that the people are capable of freely deciding their own course or destiny. Neither the philosophy of the extreme right nor of the extreme left leaves room for the growth of the mind or spirit or soul of the great majority of men and women.

But as to whether the Christian can find direction in the gospels that will lead him to be a conservative or a progressive in any strict sense is much more doubtful. Certain it is that each Christian member of the Congress must decide each question as it arises on the merits of that question rather than by reference to the position taken either by a political party or by any group of members of the house in which he serves. His role is not an easy one. It means the sacrifice of the warm comfort that comes from belonging to a company upon whose help and support one can count under all circumstances. At least it means this until enough far-sighted members of Congress have come to the conclusion that in a world like the present one there is little hope at all unless it be the hope which is found in a following of the basic principles which Jesus of Nazareth laid down. When that has happened, then there will be a new group in Congress, a group which could, I am sure, recruit a number of present members, a group which would need to be constantly replenished by action of the Christian people of the nation, a group that might hope by its influence to challenge the forces of narrow self-interest wherever they were found and to chart a course for their country which would lead in the end to a greater freedom than mankind has ever known.

Until the time comes when such a group can be formed in Congress, the Christian member must use such opportunities as now present themselves. If he hopes to accomplish anything at all, he must work with those other members whom he believes to be right on any given issue or bill and he must work with them as effectively as he knows how. He must take seriously the work of his committees, for that is where the legislation is largely framed and it is also the place where the influence of a determined individual can have greatest effect. He must try to build a record that is at once understandable and challenging. This will require his concentration on issues where Chris-

tian principle and the real welfare of the people are clearly involved, and fighting these through to the very end. But his aim and goal can never be personal accomplishment for its own sake. His aim and goal must rather be the constant increase of Christian influence in the body politic of the United States. And, therefore, he must make his own work of such a character and of such effectiveness that others of like mind will find a readier response in the voters of their districts than he has found in his.

The man or woman who deeply strives to pursue a thoroughly Christian course in the Congress or in any political body in our country will be bound to suffer bitter disappointments and feelings of frustration. All too seldom will he feel that his work and that of others of like or similar mind have yielded a result that will stand all the tests of Christian standards. He will, over and over, have to content himself with the knowledge that he has done the best he can.

For example, one of the last important bills to come before the House in the 79th Congress—the last Congress in which I was privileged to serve—was the McMahon atomic energy control bill. As introduced by Senator McMahon and as unanimously passed by the Senate it was a good bill and was calculated to protect both the people and the public interest of America about as well as could be done under all the unprecedented circumstances. But when the measure came before the Military Affairs Committee of the House, the chairman of which committee was later convicted of irregular financial practices and sent to prison, its course began to be a very rough one. Not only did the committee make some unwise changes in the bill, but many of the committee members, including the chairman, refused to support it on the floor of the House. Consequently it was not difficult for opponents of the legislation to add several more weakening and, from my point of view at least, dangerous amendments. As the final

vote approached the bill bore but a weak resemblance to the strong and forthright measure which had come to us from the Senate. Had the House version of the bill become law very little control over either the exploitation of atomic energy for private gain or the possible dangerous misuse of this terrible new power would have been provided.

What was the right thing to do? The satisfying course of action would have been to refuse to support the bill in the form the House had put it and therefore to vote to send it back to the committee for further study, or else to vote against it altogether. As a matter of fact a vote to recommit would have been the same as a vote to kill the legislation, since it was then so late in the session that there was no chance at all of getting it once again out of the hostile Military Affairs Committee.

On the other hand, there existed the hope that if the House passed the bill in almost any form at all, it might then in the conference between House and Senate representatives be brought more nearly into line with the Senate version and passed in some effective form. Consequently in the closing hour of the debate on the bill I decided to follow this course. I was intensely concerned over this legislation, believing rightly, or wrongly that it might determine the safety and welfare of the people for a long time to come. But the bill—and the only bill—that I could defend at that point was one over which I could find but meager ground for enthusiasm.

Nonetheless, I asked for recognition from the chair and made a speech against the motion to recommit the bill. I look back upon that speech as one of the best of my efforts during the entire ten years of my service in the House. I have kept—and understandably I think, treasured—the clipping from *The New York Times* which described my speech as the "most challenging and effective" one made that day.

And yet the speech was delivered on behalf of a bill that was, in my view, far from a good bill. It was rather no more than a skeleton of what I thought it should have been. My argument was made on the basis of the hope that the conference with the Senate would correct the worst of the mistakes I felt the House had made. As it turned out this was exactly what happened. The House conferees agreed on practically all major points with the Senators, and the McMahon bill as finally passed was, in my humble judgment, a good measure. But on the night after the House debate closed I had, certainly, very little feeling of contentment or satisfaction. I felt I had probably done about the best I could under a very difficult set of circumstances. That was all.

But there is one very practical service which the Christian politician can and will render by his very presence in a legislative body like the Congress. There are two schools of thought as to what the primary duty of a representative in such a legislative body actually is. On the one hand are those who contend that a representative is elected, not to assert his own will or judgment but rather to reflect the majority opinion of his constituency. According to this theory of representation, if a member of Congress believes a certain course of action to be wise or right, he should nevertheless not follow or vote for that course if he thinks that a majority of the people of his district are opposed to it. This position will seem to have logic behind it, and a majority of the members of Congress adhere o it as carefully as they know how. Many of them sincerely believe this is their duty.

Over against this idea, however, is the one that holds that when the people elect a representative to Congress or a state legislature or a city council, they elect the whole man or woman, including his mind, his understanding,

his conscience and his convictions. They expect their representative to do what he believes to be right and to submit to them his record when his term comes to an end.

It is altogether evident that the only course which a Christian representative can follow is the second one. He must do what he believes is God's will for him and he must do it even if he thinks that it will cost him his seat at the next election. Nor is it any violation of the principles of democratic representative government to say that this is the very sort of attitude that is desperately needed in our government today.

For once a representative is ready to take his political life day after day into his own hands and to base his chances of reelection or defeat on a record of honestly trying to enhance the long-term welfare of his people, then that man is free. He is free to disregard selfish local interests and to serve instead the national interest of his country. He is free to disregard the special desires of special groups and serve instead the general interest of the people as a whole. He is free to work toward the realization of God's will among men throughout the earth.

And if the voters at the next election defeat him, at least his nation will have had the benefit, while he did serve in its Congress, of a representative of all the people whose voice spoke for them, not for their selfish desires of a moment but for their aspirations and hopes for their children's future.

There is room in the Congress of the United States for such voices. There are members of Congress, now sitting, who are not only willing but eager to listen to such words and to follow their lead. And there is no shadow of doubt but that, if these voices persist and if their volume and their wisdom and their statesmanship and their evident devotion to the will of God grow with the years, they can exert a telling Christian influence upon the course of the

United States of America and guide her to a leadership in world affairs such as few even of her most devoted patriots have dared to conceive.

12. But What Is *Right?*

THE CHRISTIAN IN politics must do what he believes to be right and the will of God regardless of the political consequences to himself.

Before I was elected to Congress and right up until the day I began my work there I imagined that, as bills were brought to the floor, there would be a clean-cut choice between a right way and a wrong way to vote upon them. I imagined that some bills would be right and others would be wrong. I expected to vote for the ones that were right and against the ones that were wrong.

There were times when I did feel that way about my votes. But far more often it just did not turn out that way. Democratic government, even at its very best, is a process of compromise and reconciliation of the various opinions of many different people. And therefore the difficult and usually unsatisfying task of the individual representative is to work unceasingly and wisely for the absolute right in which he believes but to make his choices and decisions from day to day not between white and black but between light and dark shades of gray.

Strenuous and frequently discouraging as is the campaign for election, hard as are the long, long hours of work, distressing as are the interferences with one's family life, nevertheless all of these could be borne with a comparatively calm mind were it not for the searing experi-

ences, repeated day after day, of trying to determine just what is the most nearly right thing to do on questions that require a simple "aye" or "no" when the roll is called.

It is one thing to set forth general principles upon which one will take his stand. It is one thing to give one's wholehearted allegiance to the two Great Commandments. But it is quite another thing to attempt to apply these principles and the Commandments to the specific provisions of a piece of legislation which is almost always the resultant of varying views of a number of members of Congress.

However worthy the project or program and however great the need of it, members of Congress seldom vote for any bill to authorize the expenditure of money without having first to listen to the argument that they are irresponsibly spending the people's money which will be transferred from their pockets to those of the government by means of taxes.

While I was in Congress, bills were constantly coming before us aimed at placing restrictions upon the power of organized labor. Some of their provisions seemed in the general public interest and not really harmful to labor. But always there was the knowledge that many who supported such bills sought not only to curb labor's power but to cripple it fundamentally, and always there was the fear that the actual effect of the bill would be much more far-reaching than appeared upon the surface.

Even as to such a measure of simple humanity as the school lunch program for which I worked very hard while I was in Congress, there was opposition that could not be summarily dismissed. It was true that to create a broader market for farm products was a good thing to do. It was even more clear that if food surpluses and undernourished children existed side by side in the same nation, it was a thoroughly right measure to channel that food into those

children's mouths. But though these considerations were enough to make me sure I should work and vote for the bill, I could not easily forget what some opponents of it had said when they expressed fear that some families—even though they might be very few—would shift one more responsibility from the home to the school.

Again, there is presented again and again in legislative measures the issue which is probably the deepest one of all, so far as domestic policies are concerned. This is the issue as to whether it is right for the government to undertake some new type of service to the people or to expand one already started. On the one hand are the arguments that the measure may relieve distress or open the door to new opportunities for the people or provide a more even justice. But on the other hand, it is contended that the bill is not really so necessary as it appears to be and that, anyway, it is better to leave to local government or to voluntary action the solution of this particular problem since, for the federal government to take responsibility for it, will tend to make the people or the local governments too dependent upon Washington.

How far can a democratic nation go in attempting to confine the activities of those who would destroy freedom, if they could, without itself running the risk of undermining that freedom?

Is it right to insist upon one principle—which is a right one in itself—if the assertion of that principle by amendment in a badly needed bill based upon another right principle would cause the defeat of the entire bill?

Should the legislator who is striving to carry out Christian precepts vote to commit his whole nation to a course of action for which it is spiritually quite unprepared and which is almost sure to cause great suffering to many people? Can the Christian always vote to commit the nation to the course which he individually believes he should follow and is ready to follow? Or should he take account

of the probable actual result of such action upon millions of people who are not possessed of his own convictions nor of the inner resources which that conviction brings?

These are the questions that Christian members of Congress must face whenever a bill is presented to provide armament or to impose a draft for the armed forces. Nothing in human experience can be more unchristian than war. Can a Christian possibly be responsible for compelling another person to serve in the armed forces and learn to kill effectively? The question seems to answer itself and the answer seems to be a resounding "no." But on the other hand, suppose the Christian congressman knows, as nearly as any man can know, that there are forces at work in the world which are bent upon conquest by force of arms. Suppose he believes sincerely that the young men whom he might refuse to draft will one day have to go out and fight anyway. Is it right for him to condemn them to go untrained and unprepared? These were some of the thoughts which ran through my mind when the military draft bills came before the House in the months just before Pearl Harbor.

What is right in such circumstances? Can a man find it and be certain he has found it, not for himself alone but for the millions of people whose fate lies to an extent in his hands?

The best I could do on bill after bill when I served in Congress was to cast my vote on the side where I believed the preponderance of right, the preponderance of fairness and justice lay. I was fortunate if I felt sure that my vote had been 90 per cent right. More often the percentage was 75 or 55. Only rarely could I feel that the issue was so clear that I had been almost 100 per cent right.

It would help very much if members, when their names were called, could answer "I vote 70 per cent aye," or "I vote 55 per cent no," or "I am voting aye but God have

mercy on my soul if I am wrong." The vote must be all "aye" or all "no" and once the tally has been made and the result announced, that vote can never be taken back again nor the record of it erased.

I remember as if it were yesterday the terrible distress of spirit I would feel after casting some of these votes on highly controversial measures. For several days the only arguments I could think of would be the ones on the opposite side from the way I had voted. As time passed, my own reasons for acting as I had would become clear again and if I had it all to do over again, there are only three or four of my votes that I would change. But again and again during the period just after a difficult vote, my experience was as I have described.

I imagine this is part of the price any person must pay if he strives to be a politician and as good a Christian as he can find wisdom to be at the same time. Over the long run there will be satisfactions and a sense of some accomplishment. But as you struggle through from day to day trying to move events and a great nation's course more nearly toward Christian goals, you will have all too little of the inward peace which you so deeply long for.

There are, however, certain guideposts in the form of practical applications of the great religious truths which can be of very great help. Even these are not always easy to follow. But they are there. And he who strives earnestly to do so will find them. To some of these guideposts the next chapter is devoted.

13. The Guidepost of God's Intended Use

WE BELIEVE IN God the Creator of all that exists and the Father of all human beings. We believe that there is an all-embracing plan and purpose in the mind of God, the outlines of which we can see but dimly but which manifest themselves in the laws of the physical universe and the moral law that governs human life. Violations of that moral law bring inevitable retribution. Obedience to it gives an inward strength and spiritual power which no evil can destroy or, in the long run, deny.

We believe that all men are the creatures or children of God and that in His perfect understanding, if not in our imperfect one, all human beings are of equal value and equal worth. We believe that all God's creation is part of his plan and purpose.

Therefore, for each of the resources of the earth and for each invention of mankind—since all such inventions are part of the unfolding of the universe to man's mind—there must be an "Intended Use" written in the mind of God.

If we find that Intended Use, we have a guide to practical action in accordance with the will of God.

Is it not perfectly clear to us all that God's Intended Use of the soil is to produce food to sustain life? Is it not equally clear that his intent is not that the soil should sustain the life of but one generation, or a thousand, but

that its fertility should continue from generation to generation as long as the world and humanity shall last? Well then, we can conclude that measures to promote the conservation and upbuilding of soil fertility are right measures in God's sight.

God's Intended Use for food is surely equally clear. Food should nourish bodies, especially those that need it most at any given time. So measures like the school lunch program and CARE and CROP [1] and others like them must be essentially right measures and deserving of vigorous Christian support.

Indeed as to all the natural resources of the earth we may be sure, I think, that God's intent is that they be as fully available to meet the needs of people on a sustained yield basis as is practically possible. This does not necessarily resolve the questions that arise as between private or public development of such resources as water power, petroleum, forests, and the like, but it does lead us inescapably to see that whatever influences unnecessarily and arbitrarily deny the people who need them the benefits of these resources are wrong from the Christian point of view and require correction by whatever means may be the wisest and most certain. Especially is this true where deliberate restrictions on supply, or unreasonable increases in cost to the people, or wasteful exploitation of exhaustible resources are involved.

The most elemental natural resource that man has ever touched is atomic energy. We may be certain that this tremendous energy has not lain latent in the atom through all the eons of time because God intended that it be used to destroy life upon the earth. If he is the wise Father God that we believe him to be, it is perfectly evident that the

[1] Standard designations for the relief programs sponsored by the Cooperative for American Remittances to Europe, Inc., 20 Broad Street, New York, N. Y., and the Christian Rural Overseas Program, 308 West Washington Street, Chicago 6, Ill.

basic energy of the universe as he has fashioned it is intended as a benefit and blessing, not a terrible curse to mankind. To make atomic energy such a benefit and blessing must, therefore, become a cardinal objective of our policy and one relentlessly pursued until accomplished, even if it takes establishment of a world federal government to do it.

It was part of the genius of Jesus that he taught not only in general precepts, but more often in parables and stories, the practical application of which no honest person can escape.

"He who showed mercy on him," is Jesus' definition of a neighbor.

"Inasmuch as ye have done it unto one of the least of these my brethren, ye have done it unto me," is the definition of Jesus as to how broad is our Christian obligation to show brotherhood.

We may conclude, then, may we not, that God's Intended Use of social inventions is that they may make available, though never without effort, to even the least of these the opportunity for growth of mind and spirit and soul and a place of dignity and respect in the society in which they live. This, then, from the Christian standpoint must be the purpose of the family and the labor union, the co-operative and the church, of industry and business enterprise, and money and exchange, of all voluntary organizations of the people and of all governments.

Whatever prevents these institutions from contributing to the growth and dignity of human beings is a violation of the principle of God's Intended Use. Whatever helps them to do so is a fulfillment of that principle.

The slum is wrong because it prevents the family from rearing its children in conditions where they can grow in mind and spirit and soul. Therefore, programs to elim-

inate slums are right and opposition to such programs is wrong.

The labor union can give dignity and an opportunity for decision-making to millions of people who would otherwise be regarded as little more than "hands." To the extent that labor unions do this, they are good from the Christian viewpoint. But if they become exclusive groups, shutting the door to membership in the face of worthy applicants, then they are failing to fulfill God's Intended Use for them.

If money is so managed in a nation that it makes easier the exchange of goods and services between producers and consumers and if it measures values truly from year to year and decade to decade, then it is being put to its Intended Use. But if money, privately created for the mere purpose of exacting usury, becomes itself the master of production and consumption, turning them on or shutting them off to add to its own power, if money becomes the cause of periods of inflation and deflation, each with its own particular devastating effects upon the people's opportunities, then, to say the least, the Intended Use of God for this social invention is being violated. Measures, therefore, that will make money a neutral factor in the nation's economic life and cause it to flow as needed by the processes of production and distribution are right from a Christian standpoint. And any measure which is taken or not taken and which by its taking or its neglect causes inflation and deflation to continue is wrong.

If business enterprise is a door through which any of the people—even those with very small capital—can enter to engage in economic activities and to take responsibility for the meeting of common needs, then this would seem to be in accord with God's Intended Use for such an institution. But if business enterprise becomes the special private preserve of a small segment of the population and if through economic power or political attack the bulk of

the people are prevented from participating in it in any direct manner, then its purpose is lost and measures calculated to restore that purpose are right measures for the Christian.

Democratic government is an expression of the willingness of people to work together for their mutual welfare. It is evidence of their willingness to establish law by their own action and to abide by that law. It is, therefore, possible in a democratic society for people to enjoy both peace and freedom at the same time. God's Intended Use for government and the state is not that they seek extended power for themselves or tolerate inordinate power in any other agency, but rather that they promote the growth and dignity of people and create an environment in which mutual aid and brotherhood, if voluntarily sought by any groups among the people, will have full scope to develop. Ideally, democratic government does precisely these things. In practice, like all human institutions, it falls short.

Christian political policy, therefore, will support measures which aim to strengthen democracy by bringing about a fuller participation in every aspect of its life on the part of the people. Such a policy requires the removal of every barrier to full participation in democratic political processes on the part of all citizens. The preservation and the extension of democratic political institutions is a Christian political issue because it involves an opportunity to express our Christian convictions as free men and women.

But democratic institutions cannot be preserved or extended in a vacuum. The essence of democracy is human equality before the law and before the ballot box and before every other political, social or economic institution, just as true Christianity is universal human brotherhood in spirit and attitude.

And here we come to the problem of power—of power taken from the people and concentrated in special hands.

God can have no Intended Use for power over His children unless that power be His own. Power in the earth, therefore, is contrary to the will of God whenever that power is separated from the people as a whole. One Christian purpose of government is to make sure that no power ever is exercised unless it be responsible to and subject to the will of the people.

We need to heed this fact today as never before. Let us see why:

The simple people of the world have never asked for so very much. They have through the ages been reasonably content if they had enough to eat, a decent shelter, a chance to bear and rear their children, a measure of security, and a degree of freedom. One of the great tragedies of history is the fact that only at rare intervals in its course and only in a few places on the earth have the people been able to enjoy even these simple birthrights.

And this is so primarily because there have always been those among them who have sought personal power and glory and have prostituted the intended purposes of government and economic life to their own ends.

War has been the most virulent and terrible form which the struggle for power has taken. It has been by no means the only one.

Modern weapons are by far the most frightening examples of sheer destructive force that the human race has ever known. But they are no more than the logical result of the age-old quest of men for greater and greater physical power.

The totalitarian dictatorships of our time—more absolute in power than any despotisms of antiquity—represent the most extreme concentrations of power in the present world. But they are dramatic evidence of a will to power that is present to a degree in every nation and which manifests itself in a hundred ways.

Social and political institutions come closest to God's

Intended Use for such institutions when they act as protective devices of the people against inordinate economic or political or any other kind of power that threatens them or their way of life.

In every previous period of history there has been in the hands of peoples living under absolutism a much greater chance of revolt than exists today. The weapons of the rulers of former times were not impossible for groups of ordinary citizens to create. None of them represented predominant destructive power.

Today, however, once an absolutely powerful government is firmly established, the people can hope to overthrow it by frontal attack only if they have the assistance of a portion of the armed forces themselves. The Russian dictatorship, for example, like the shorter-lived Nazi dictatorship in Germany, possesses both political and economic power that is complete. It also possesses the tremendously intricate and fabulously expensive weapons of modern war. Such weapons are as available to crush opposition at home as they are to fight wars abroad.

Surely little else need be said to show the primary and imperative importance of the preservation of free, democratic institutions wherever they still exist. And surely little else need be said to place upon the Christian conscience an impelling duty to contribute everything possible to that end.

The surrender to dictatorship is not only a denial of God's Intended Use for power. It is also evidence of a deep weakness in the people. It is evidence that the people have been unable to solve their problems by their own efforts and are ready to give up trying. Such loss of strength in the people results, mostly, from lack of opportunity to take part in the making of decisions that vitally affect their own lives. And that opportunity is taken from them first, as a rule, either through chance circumstances or by

deliberate design, by those who hold a preponderance of economic power.

Hitler came to power in Germany in 1933 because Germany had long since embraced the totalitarian idea in industry. Hitler was boosted into the Fuehrer's position because the industrial monopolists believed they could continue their power in no other way. They paid the bills and they reaped the reward, not the little shopkeepers and farmers who supported their scheme out of fear of communism.

In Russia twenty-six years earlier the motivation was different but the stage was set with the same properties. The Russian people accepted communist dictatorship basically because they, like the Germans, lacked the strength to exercise any power of decision over their own economic fate. Indeed, the Russian people never had lived under anything but a virtual dictatorship in all their history. It was only a case in Russia of transferring the totalitarian economic power that was already established into new and different hands.

It was natural that the vigorous frontier-bred democracy of America should, in its growing years, resist the rise of concentrated economic power. But in our own times such resistance is far less popular, its purpose much less clearly understood. The number of our industries which are dominated by not more than three or four large companies increases. Two-thirds of our manufacturing plant is in the hands of only a few score gigantic concerns. Less than a hundred great financial houses control over half the banking business of the nation. In the year 1949 but seventeen of the nation's mightiest corporations had a gross income of thirty-four billion dollars which was seven billion dollars greater than the total income of all the 5,800,000 farmers of the nation. Careful studies show that large corporations are growing larger and that this is the result

in most cases of a process of absorbing their smaller competitors.

Attempts of government to check these trends are met with full-page advertising campaigns which seek to persuade the people that there is nothing wrong with bigness or even with monopoly, however irresponsible its power may be. And an alarming number of people are persuaded that their government is wrong.

The handmaiden of monopolistic economic power is the growing concentration of power over the agencies that influence the thought-patterns of the people. Millions listen to one or two radio commentators, and believe implicitly what they hear. So much so that it would require a thousand Christian priests and ministers speaking with one voice to counteract an unchristian sentiment expressed by one of these oracles. Again, in city after city, the freedom of the press is open to but one newspaper or chain of newspapers, which frequently owns the radio station as well.

It is hardly necessary to add that this power to mould the public mind can be exerted only by those possessed of large economic resources. It is not available to the people generally, simply because they cannot afford to use it. And when they do try with small resources to do so, they are met with violent cries of alarm. For example, one great national magazine which numbers its circulation in millions has cried out editorially that some farmers have dared to acquire ownership of all of two small radio stations and that organized workers have no less than three! And from this it is concluded that the times are indeed out of joint and the foundations of the nation threatened, Why? Apparently because a few of the people are presuming to have a word to say—among thousands of such words—about what is going to happen to them.

The ultimate kind of physical power, of course, is military power. It is a power which democratic peoples feel

compelled to create in order to guard by this means the other freedoms which they cherish. And in this field it becomes most clear how the presence of the totalitarian philosophy in one place begets it in others. For, indeed, it does appear that as long as we fail to create an effective world agency for the maintenance of peace and as long as powerful totalitarian states exist, the democracies must counter with measures similar in kind and in conception. And their young men must have ther lives snapped in two in the middle, at worst by death on the battlefield and at best by an extended period of military service.

A false idea began to enter the minds of men and women in the early years of the Twentieth Century. It was the idea that democracy was a great mistake, that the "American Dream" of a nation in which humble people would enjoy an opportunity for the full development of their talents and abilities was out of place in the modern world. It was the tendency of the little men to worship the big one, just because he was big and quite regardless of whether he was good; and the tendency—nay, the booming insistence—of the big man to worship himself. It was the very antithesis of the Christian teaching that the meek shall inherit the earth and that the poor are blessed. It was the antithesis, also, of God's Intended Use of power.

Nor can the dangers of our time be averted unless a new struggle is fought in all phases of life. Essentially that struggle is to establish the dominance of moral law over the selfish will to power of any individual, group or nation, and to build new institutions and revive the strength of old ones which can strengthen that moral law. It is the struggle to bring every exercise of power into conformity with God's Intended Use of power. In this struggle every Christian is called to enlistment.

Christians are called to political service today in order that they may minister to the plight of the ordinary people

of the earth who have lost the power of decision with respect to the most vital areas of their lives, except, of course, that of religious faith itself.

The central political task of the Christian is to restore to the people the right and opportunity to take responsibility for their own fate and destiny, a right and opportunity which even in free nations they have, to a dangerous extent, lost. Christians are called to harness power in accordance with God's Intended Use for power.

14. Pitfalls to Be Avoided

THE ROAD WHICH the Christian who embarks upon a career of service in the field of government must travel is, as we have said, no smooth, broad highway. It is a stony road, and many a pitfall lies along its course.

Against a few of them this chapter will attempt to warn.

However exemplary his character and however good the record of his life, the Christian who enters politics must not fall into the error of expecting that his candidacy for elective office or his offer to serve in an appointive one or his readiness to work in the political ranks will meet with ready and universal acclaim. In the very earliest stages when your friends are trying to persuade you to become active in your party or to run for office or to accept a job with some governmental agency, it may seem that this is going to be the case. But it will not be long before opposition will arise, if from no other source than from the opposite party. And while it is not necessary for a person to be dishonest in order to succeed in American politics,

nonetheless in many parts of the country the very fact that a politician is evidently completely honest will cause some special interest groups to dislike him. They will know he cannot be depended upon to do their bidding.

The second pitfall is a good deal like the first one. It is the error of believing that the Christian can successfully and effectively pursue a political career without a very great deal of the hardest kind of work. Precisely because he cannot use underhanded tactics, or mean tactics, in his work, and precisely because once in a position of influence he can make no deals under the table, he must use all the honest and legitimate methods of political action with even greater vigor than others in politics need to do. He can never become the darling of any special organization or segment of the population and thus depend upon that organization or segment to carry him along an easy political road.

Therefore, he must work longer hours, he must try harder to make many understanding friends and at least a few very firm and loyal ones, and he must perform even more legitimate and helpful services to his constituents than the average politician.

It is unfortunate indeed that our governmental practices have so developed as to place upon the representative —whether in local, state or national government—a vast number of duties which have little, if anything, to do with his official responsibilities. But that is how it is at present and the Christian must not be unmindful of this fact if he sincerely desires to make his opportunity to serve his Lord faithfully in the larger and more important affairs of state.

This is not at all to say that the Christian politician should spend hours of time trying to place some unqualified or poorly qualified person in a governmental position. Far from it. This is one of the things he cannot in good conscience do. It is one of the ways in which he might gain

political support but cannot, and for which he therefore must make up in other ways.

But the humble citizen whose brother's immigration case has got lost in the files somewhere, the distressed and disabled veteran who needs someone to advise him on how to present his claim, the little businessman who can't afford to hire a full-time spokesman to represent him before the governmental agencies in Washington or a state capital, the small group of farmers whose particular line of agriculture is too small in volume for either the farm organizations or the Department of Agriculture to bother with, the many individuals who are deeply concerned about their country's or their state's or their city's or their school's future and want to hear from their congressman or their assemblyman or their councilman or their school board member about it—these are the people for whom the Christian politician can render services and for whom he must expect to do so. By such means friends and supporters are made, especially if one renders the service without expecting necessarily that this will happen. And by the making of such friends the Christian can legitimately and properly secure his opportunity to do his much larger job of bearing his Christian witness in influential places when great decisions must be made.

In the third place, the Christian office-holder must not fall into the error of expecting that because he has been elected once or twice or many times he will go on being elected indefinitely. Many of us have learned that lesson the hard way. He must keep in the closest possible touch with the people whom he is endeavoring to represent. He will find it hard to do this without neglecting the duties these very people elected him to fulfill. But they will expect him to do both things at once and he must try his best to accomplish that admittedly difficult feat.

In this same connection it must be said that the Chris-

tian politician, however earnest and however devoted to Christian principles, cannot as of the present time count on the faithful support of the membership of the Christian church. This is one of the principal reasons why we cannot as yet say that America is in fact a Christian nation. America has some 60,000,000 professing Christians in her population, far more than enough to guide her course of action toward thoroughly Christian goals in every single phase of her life. America has a somewhat smaller number of very devout Christians. But not even all of them, much less all the professing ones, carry their Christian conscience with them as their principal guide when they enter the ballot box. They will readily vote against a candidate who has offended one or more of their most strongly held beliefs. But few of them will as a matter of practice cross party lines to vote for a candidate who, they know, has tried to do the will of Christ in all things.

The sad fact is that members of the Christian church vote, when they do vote, as Republicans or Democrats rather than as Christians. Millions of them fail to register at all, thereby deliberately leaving their country and its free institutions that give Christianity itself its full chance to flourish, to the tender mercies of more realistic citizens, some of whom see in the outcome of an election a possible chance to profit personally in one way or another. And the vote of church members who do have the sense of duty to cast their ballots is hardly distinguishable from the vote of the population as a whole. All the evidence points to the fact that about the same percentage of churchmen vote straight tickets from force of habit as is true of the population generally.

This need not be the case. It is possible that the very perils of our times may bring forth a new spirit of dedication in Christians everywhere that will lead them to bring the full influence of their religion to bear upon governmental affairs.

We have said more than once that there are many members of Congress and of other governmental bodies who owe their repeated elections to their unquestioned obedience to the wishes of some especially strong group or organization in the districts they represent. But if Congressman X can have his organization so solidly behind him, is there any logical reason why Congressman A, who is a thoroughgoing, practicing Christian, should not look for similar support to the membership of the Christian church?

The last pitfall we shall mention is one that is common to the majority of members of governmental bodies, and for easily understandable reasons. Most congressmen, for example, are constantly and deeply concerned about their re-election. Many of them are in a financial position where defeat will mean real hardship. But this is less important to them, I think, than the desire to maintain one's place in a body he has learned to value most highly and to keep one's chance to be at the center of America's political life. At all events most congressmen and I am sure other elected officials are almost desperately anxious to avoid defeat.

The Christian politician can never allow himself to fall into the error of this point of view. He must, as has been said, work very hard indeed to win reelection. But he can never put that consideration first. Always he must put first his allegiance to God and his obedience to the will of Christ. Sooner or later—until America does become in all respects a Christian nation—this practice of the Christian politician will lead him to defeat at the polls. For this he must be prepared in mind and spirit, and he must, over and over, in all his official decisions and in all his political work, throw his political future completely into the balance on the side that he believes to be most nearly in accordance with the Christian commandments.

15. A Faith to Live By

IN HIS GREAT encyclical, "Quadragesimo Anno," Pope Pius XI wrote these paragraphs:

> 39. But before proceeding to discuss these problems We lay down the principle long since clearly established by Leo XIII that it is Our right and Our duty to deal authoritatively with social and economic problems. It is not, of course, for the Church to lead men to transient and perishable happiness only, but to that which is eternal. Indeed the Church believes that it would be wrong for her to interfere without just cause in such earthly concerns; but she never can relinquish her God-given task of interposing her authority, not indeed in technical matters, for which she has neither the equipment nor the mission, but in all those that have a bearing on moral conduct. For the deposit of truth entrusted to Us by God, and Our weighty office of propagating, interpreting and urging in season and out of season the entire moral law, demand that both social and economic questions be brought within Our supreme jurisdiction, in so far as they refer to moral issues.
>
> 40. For, though economic science and moral discipline are guided each by its own principles in its own sphere, it is false that the two orders are so distinct and alien that the former in no way depends on the latter. The so-called laws of economics, derived from the nature of earthly goods and from the qualities of the human body and soul, determine what aims are unattainable or attainable in economic matters and what means are thereby necessary,

> while reason itself clearly deduces from the nature of things and from the individual and social character of man, what is the end and object of the whole economic order assigned by God the Creator.
>
> 41. For it is the moral law alone which commands us to seek in all our conduct our supreme and final end, and to strive directly in our specific actions for those ends which nature, or rather, the Author of Nature, has established for them, duly subordinating the particular to the general. If this law be faithfully obeyed, the result will be that particular economic aims, whether of society as a body or of individuals, will be intimately linked with the universal teleological order, and as a consequence we shall be led by progressive stages to the final end of all, God Himself, our highest and lasting good.

Protestant and Catholic alike should read again and ponder those words. For the best of modern historians, men with as different general points of view as Oswald Spengler and Arnold Toynbee, agree on one central fact of history. The greatness of peoples and of civilizations depends directly upon the depth of their religious faith. Spengler puts it negatively. He says that the point at which a civilization begins its decline is the point where the religion of the people becomes a formal thing and ceases to inspire and direct all other phases of their lives. Toynbee puts it more positively and says that if western civilization is to survive the crisis of the last half of the twentieth century and to become in truth a world civilization, it must first rediscover its religious soul. He says, with clear logic, that western civilization largely lost that soul at the point where it decided that it was more important to expand commercial markets than to convert people to Christianity.

Many civilizations have passed across the stage of history. Some of them have died without having left any lasting impression on the subsequent life of man. Some have deeply affected all the events which followed them.

The difference has lain in the absence or presence of a dynamic religious faith. Only those people who have been primarily motivated by their pattern of beliefs in God, by whatever name they have called him, have made lasting contributions to the development of the mind and life of mankind. These beliefs have related the day-to-day activities of these peoples to a profound, universal purpose in those activities. Whatever else they may have lacked, these beliefs have imbued and informed every aspect of the life of these peoples during the period of their greatness.

We need desperately today just such a relationship between our religious beliefs and the pattern of all the rest of our lives. Either we shall find the way to apply the principles of our religion to the problems that confront us or the days of our own greatness are surely numbered. More than we need anything else today—more than we need prosperity or even peace—the people of the United States need a dynamic faith. Not in the theorizing of Adam Smith or of Karl Marx, not in the practices of any particular economic system, not in the policies of any president alive or dead or of any senator alive or dead or of any political party—not in any of these places can such a dynamic faith be born. It must come from the only place it can possibly come from, for us—from the Gospels of Christ. For we need today a faith not alone to live by, but, if necessary, to die by as well. We need a faith in a way of living and working together which could survive a war of untold devastation and remain strong and virile enough thereafter to become the means of rebuilding a new civilization on the ruins of an old one.

To attempt to justify capitalism or socialism—let alone fascism or communism—by attempts to prostitute Christianity to such justification is blasphemy.

As the World Council of Churches said at Amsterdam in 1948:

5. Two chief factors contribute to the crisis of our age. One of these is the vast concentration of power—which is under Capitalism mainly economic and under Communism both economic and political. For such conditions, social evil is manifest on the largest scale, and not only in the greed, pride and cruelty of persons and groups. It lies also in the momentum of inertia of huge organizations of men, which diminish their ability to act as moral and accountable beings. To find ways of realizing personal responsibility for collective action in the large aggregations of power in modern society is a task which has not yet been undertaken seriously.

11. The church cannot resolve the debate between those who feel that the primary solution is to socialize the means of production and those who fear that such a course will merely lead to new and inordinate combinations of political and economic power, culminating finally in an omnicompetent state. In the light of the Christian understanding of man we must, however, say to the advocates of socialization that the institution of property is not the root of the corruption of human nature; we must equally say to the defenders of existing property relations that as ownership is not an unconditional right, it must, therefore, be preserved, curtailed or distributed in accordance with the requirements of justice.

12. On the one hand we must vindicate the supremacy of persons over purely technical considerations by subordinating all economic processes and cherished rights to the needs of the community as a whole. On the other hand, we must preserve the possibility of a satisfying life for "little men in big societies." We must prevent abuse of authority and keep open as wide a sphere as possible in which men can have direct and responsible relations with each other as persons.

Are we willing to "subordinate all economic processes and cherished rights to the needs of the community as a whole"? Are we willing to do all things necessary to "keep

open as wide a sphere as possible in which men can have direct and responsible relations with one another as persons"?

If we are, then we can hope to recover the full latent strength of our faith. For in these two principles taken together we can find, I believe, a guide to political and economic and social policy and a manner of fitting our everyday lives together which will give deep religious meaning to those policies and to those lives.

Freedom is essential to the full life of any human soul. It is therefore possible to show, as this book has tried to do, that institutions of government like those of the United States which assure freedom to the people are based upon Christian values, and are a practical expression of a living religious faith. But we cannot relate the Christian religion to an economic system which glories mainly in its production of many mechanical devices for easy living or in the possibility it offers for the accumulation of great wealth. Neither, certainly, can we relate our Christian faith to any system of totalitarianism or governmental supremacy since by their very nature such systems destroy liberty of conscience and rob people of the most priceless possession of life, a free soul.

But there is a middle way, a pattern of life which we can relate to Christian teaching and in following which we can, without loss of liberty or dependence on the state, "subordinate economic processes to the needs of the community" and open the door to "direct and responsible relations" among one another for "little men in big societies."

To find that way and follow it is the goal of Christian statesmanship.

Two false ideas about democratic government must first be rejected. The first of these is that government is something apart from the people, that it is at best a necessary

evil and that almost anything it does is inherently a bad thing. The second false idea is the opposite of the first one. It is that the first resort of the people when they face a problem should be to the government and that almost any program of the government aimed generally at assistance of the people is inherently a good thing.

The Christian must reject both of these ideas: the first because true liberty and opportunity for most of the people is impossible unless government acts to restrain the too great power of some of them; the second because it leads to dependence upon governmental edict to determine what human relations shall be and thus takes from the people the responsibility for working out these relationships themselves.

From the Christian standpoint, the first duty of government is to do those things which will open the way for Christian relationships to be developed among its citizens, and the second duty of government is itself to act in accordance with Christian principles. The reason we put these duties in this order is because the first one is more fundamental than the second. If people are changed by experience so they become more truly Christian, they are likely to stay changed and to influence their government for good at every opportunity. But the fact that a government acts on Christian principles may or may not change the people. And if the people remain selfish or narrow or prejudiced, they are as likely as not to throw out of office the very public officials who are trying to follow, as best they can, the teachings of Christ.

So Christians and especially Christian statesmen have to look deeply into each measure of government to be sure it will lead to the very best results among the people. It isn't enough to simply do things for people. All sorts of proposals are made whereby the government could do acts for the people which would seem to be Christian acts. Some of these should be done because they involve prob-

lems or supply needs which in the modern world can only be met by united action of the whole nation. Among such acts are: the maintenance of good schools for all children, elimination of slums, the establishment of a monetary system that will assure a stable buying power in our dollar from year to year and decade to decade, the conservation and orderly development of exhaustible natural resources, the maintenance of law and order, the provision of basic protection against the devastating effects of mass unemployment, and a decent and reasonable provision against destitution in old age. But wherever a problem can possibly be met by passing a measure which will encourage the people to join together in doing things for one another and thus lead to enabling them to make their own lives better and their communities better, that is always, from the Christian point of view, a better way. It is the middle way about which this chapter is trying to speak.

This middle way to a dynamic faith must seek, ever more earnestly, the general welfare of all people. But the welfare of the people is more than food and shelter. It is more than security. It is more even than peace. The welfare of the people is realized only when the minds and spirits and souls of people grow toward ever-deepening strength within themselves, toward ever-widening brotherhood, and hence toward God. And such growth comes about only through "direct and responsible relationships." Therefore this middle way is found when voluntary action by the people, expressing voluntary mutual aid among the people, promotes by the people's effort the welfare of the people. And from this it follows that the most serious business of our society and the most urgent task of our government is to remove every obstacle that stands in the way of the joining together of the people for the achievement of worthy goals through mutual aid one to another.

There is much to be done if such obstacles are indeed to be removed and if positive encouragement of the peo-

ple to act on their own behalf is to be erected in their places. Upon that task a whole political philosophy and program can be built which will be as nearly Christian as anything political can be.

The hour is late.

The outstanding feature of the modern economic world is technology. James Watts' steam engine started a chain of events which in two short centuries has brought us to the atomic bomb and has almost completely changed mankind's way of making a living. These changes have been not only technological but sociological as well. As a result of the industrial revolution and events which have followed the standard of living in industrialized nations has been raised substantially for nearly all the people. But meanwhile, the average man has lost almost completely his chance to own the tools with which he works. Unless this course can somehow be altered, it will remain true that only in agriculture, the handicrafts, and a few other occupations will any real opportunity still exist for the worker to be also the owner of the means of production.

The people are dependent and often lacking in sense of responsibility because they are urged in the most powerful of ways to be dependent.

A certain type of politician wants the people to depend upon government for their economic well-being since, if they do, he can more easily appeal to them for votes.

The corporation which dominates its industry wants the people to depend upon it for their supply of the goods it produces, since such a situation enables it to dictate price and to exercise other monopolistic powers. The people in alarming numbers are even persuaded by expensive propaganda that monopoly is a good thing because it provides them with cheaper automobiles or television sets or aluminum pots and pans or electrical appliances. We are encouraged to sell our birthright of responsibility for our

own destiny for a mess of mechanical pottage! We are urged to sell our chance to "keep open a sphere, in which men can have direct and responsible relations with one another as persons" for the same price.

Although the credit of the nation is nothing more nor less than the credit of the whole people generated by their production of real wealth, nevertheless the commercial banks take to themselves the exclusive right to create the money of the nation and to manufacture its credit and to sell that credit back to the government itself at interest. Financial institutions of the people like their credit unions are tolerated so long as they remain essentially dependent upon the centers of financial control. And though some 5,000,000 American families have, by the accumulation of their savings, gathered together total assets of some $1,000,000,000 in 10,000 credit unions, still that $1,000,000,000 of assets belonging to these 5,000,000 families is but one-sixth of the assets of one commercial bank in New York City.

The people are dependent and lacking in opportunity to develop Christian relationships because their attempts to aid one another are met with bitter opposition. When farmers who had no electricity seek to obtain it co-operatively, they are told in full-page advertisements that this is socialism and that, in effect, ordinary people like themselves have no right to own and run together a power business. When groups of the people try to solve the economic problem of paying for the medical care their families need by establishing prepayment plans, they sometimes find their doctors expelled from or denied membership in medical societies.

However high its national income, no democratic nation can safely resign itself to a situation where its people are spoon-fed by concentrated financial, industrial or commercial monopolies. No dynamic faith can grow in such a soil. Private monopoly and political freedom have never

lived long together in the same nation. They cannot do so here. If monopoly is inevitable, then it must be a public monopoly if democracy itself is to be protected. But is this the only alternative? Must we take our choice only between dependence of the people upon private monopoly and dependence upon their government?

Neither a people dependent upon the state nor a people dependent upon huge corporations can achieve the kind of dynamic, all-pervading religious faith for which this chapter is appealing. People grow from within.

Then is our condition hopeless from the Christian point of view? Are we to admit that we cannot achieve a quality in our national life in which the full, life-commanding Christian gospel can flourish?

A superficial glance at the world situation might persuade us to answer yes to both these questions.

In half the world supreme political power, and with it economic power, is concentrated in the hands of a few ruthless dictators. In that portion of the world the people have lost their freedom, their dignity, their strength. In other countries democratic political institutions are as strong as ever but responsibility for the people's welfare and for the solution of their problems is concentrated to a great extent in the hands of government. Here in America there is taking place, according to all the evidence, an ever more rapid concentration of economic power in the hands of a few score of corporations which robs the people of their strength, their dignity, their economic freedom and their responsibility just as surely as does an increase in the power of the state. And finally, the very power to destroy human life itself has been concentrated into a few bombs and the nations are vying with one another to see which can most rapidly perfect weapons of ever more fearful portent.

But if we look deeper we will know that we need not

be without hope. There are ways in which we can weave our lives together with our neighbors so that even our day-to-day activities will lead us toward a deeper and broader fulfillment of our religious beliefs. The means of our salvation are available to us, as God has made them available to the people of every age and time.

What is required of us is nothing strange or new. What is required is that ownership, and mutual responsibility one to another, and full participation in decision-making in the vital areas of life be regained by the people as they work together in groups. From such experiences come "direct and responsible relations with one another as persons." In such a society economic processes can be made to serve "the needs of the community as a whole."

Methods of doing this are tried and tested. They are not unknown. Americans through the years have formed voluntary organizations for the purpose of working together for almost every conceivable purpose. And it is upon the vitality and the broadened scope of those voluntary organizations of the people that this middle way with its restoration of strength to the people themselves can be built.

Indeed the work is already begun. The old fraternal spirit of the Grange still lives and can be fanned into new life. The Farm Bureau and the Farmers' Union in some states have already broadened the scope of their activities far beyond political action and the technical problems of agriculture. Their membership provides their own insurance through their own companies. They organize cooperative plans to deal with problems of rural health. They organize neighborhood groups to meet regularly, and work out together their answers to community and national problems. All this is part of the middle way of which we speak.

Already some labor unions are going far beyond the business of bargaining for better wages for their members as producers. They are concerning themselves with health

plans for their members, with welfare programs, with security in old age. There are employers who are meeting the unions half way in translating this concern into action.

There are other health plans too—and insurance plans—not tied with any particular economic groups but open to all people who desire to do so to join with their fellow human beings in sharing the risks of illness and disaster and pre-paying their average cost on a regular budgeted basis. The principle beneath all these plans is Christian mutual aid.

Already a basic financial security has been built for themselves by the more than 5,000,000 families who are members of credit unions. A real encouragement of their development could make possible to the people a recapture of their own credit and savings and the use of these savings to bring about the very spread of ownership and responsibility and decision-making in economic affairs which is the key to the Christian middle way.

Already the people have formed co-operatives of many sorts to meet their needs in many fields and thus to regain ownership and control and responsibility for their own welfare. And not one of these co-operative enterprises can succeed unless its members in large numbers hold toward one another and toward their common effort the basic Christian relationship of voluntary mutual aid.

Certainly other applications of this middle-way principle can be developed by a people as resourceful as Americans have always been. But it will require leadership—the leadership of Christian statesmen in the highest and best sense of both these words.

Though the dominant trends of our time are, at the moment, toward greater and greater concentrations of power and less and less self-dependence in the people, we need not be disheartened. The cause of human freedom, human dignity, human responsibility is not a lost cause. A great faith-to-live-by is still within our grasp, if we are

willing to use to the full the one great yet simple resource that has always been the reliance of men and women in times of danger and distress.

What is that resource, that method of meeting problems? It is what Harvard's great sociologist, P. A. Sorokin, refers to when he says that "Love is the only creative force." It is what Ashley Montagu, head of the anthropology department of Rutgers University, means when he says that the "fundamentally social nature of all living beings has its origin in the relationship between parent and offspring." It is the resource upon which Judge Samuel Seabury relies for his hope of realizing a "self-governing economic system."

It is the resource that enabled primitive man to conquer fire. It is the resource that welded together the first tribes, that made the first appearance of law and order and government possible, that enabled our pioneer forefathers to settle the prairies.

That resource is mutual aid. It is the joining together of many people, each of whom, individually, would be weak, fearful and unfree, in order that together they may be strong and free and possessed of the dignity that goes with the taking of responsibility for their own fate and their own welfare. Another name for mutual aid is the second commandment of Jesus Christ.

Yes, the one great resource that will always be available to men and women in the free nations of the world is the opportunity for co-operation. The highest duty of the Christian citizen, therefore, is to bring this resource to bear upon the task of building social, political, and economic institutions fit for the needs of our times. The highest duty of Christian statesmanship is to see that government pursues such a course and adopts such measures as will encourage the use of these resources.

America can offer mankind a deeper, more challenging

faith than communism or fascism can ever do. We can do this if we rediscover the soul of our country, and the scope of our religion.

We can do it if we are careful not to mistake gigantic industrial plants and a multitude of cheap things for national greatness or the realization of a great all-pervading religious faith. The greatness of a nation is measured by the spontaneous loyalty of its people—all its people—to a great absorbing ideal that can be expressed in every phase of their lives. The Christian religion offers us that very ideal, if only we will courageously apply it to all our lives.

Our task requires more than government agencies and more than a so-called free enterprise that is no longer so very free. It requires full participation by the people in vital decision-making activities that shape their lives. It requires a Christian church leading and inspiring them to make those decisions in voluntary organizations and groups bound together by ties of mutual concern. It requires labor unions and farmers' organizations and other organizations of producers giving to millions of people the sense of belonging to significant groups and recognizing at the same time their obligations to all society. It requires the broadened use of co-operatives where numbers of people with common interests and common needs are willing to take the trouble and assume the responsibility for carrying forward economic activities at their own risk to meet those needs. It requires that small, independent business be truly independent rather than an appendage and a front for big business. It requires that such small businesses themselves learn what mutual aid means and that they, like labor unions, develop a sense of their obligation to all society. It requires not less, but more democracy—practical, workaday democracy.

The role of middle-way government is to make that democracy successful primarily through the voluntary organizations and communities of its people.

It is no wonder that the first steps a dictator takes when he gains power are to destroy one after another the voluntary associations of the people. For they are the life of democracy. The right of the people to form them is their democratic birthright. Their success or failure is the test of democracy. With all their shortcomings and imperfections they are the opportunity of the Christian church to develop essentially Christian relationships among the people.

Neither increased production, nor a higher standard of living, desirable as these things are, can inspire the kind of living faith which our times demand. No industrial or economic system known to man can inspire it. But genuine freedom, a pattern of life in which most of the people share in ownership and control not only of personal but productive properties as well, that is a different matter. Genuine democracy in which the people participate from day to day through their voluntary organizations in significant decision-making directly affecting their own welfare, that is a different matter. A society in which the people find the solution to their problems by applying to that solution the methods of Christian mutual aid, that can be a society of hope, even in a dark world. In such a social pattern and way of life Christians can believe with their whole souls. The success of such a society depends upon essentially Christian relationships existing among its citizens. And upon its base can be reared the dynamic faith that can inspire men to live creatively and strengthen them, if need be, to die.

16. Conclusion

MANKIND HAS come full circle in his course and we who live today look down over a sheer cliff at our prehistoric ancestors cowering in caves and tree-tops below us. They seem not so very far away.

Man has progressed mightily in the past few millenniums. He has populated the earth, just as other forms of life have done before. He has gained great physical power, just as other forms of life have done before. He has conquered nature and harnessed her inmost powers to his will. From a weak and helpless state he has progressed to a point where he possesses almost unlimited physical power. He has overcome every obstacle to a full and abundant life on the earth which is his heritage—every obstacle but one.

Man has not conquered himself. And because this is so, the powers in his hands are turned to terror and are become the means of mass race suicide, instead of instruments for the realization of the dreams that have been in the hearts of every generation, including the one that is now growing up in a fear-filled world.

The people of the United States are told that we must build a hydrogen bomb that will kill men, women, and children by the millions in other countries, and that the reason we must do this is the knowledge that those other countries are building the same kind of bombs to be used against us. Unless the present drift of world events can be changed, the people of the cities at least must learn to live

under the shadow of almost probable death within the next decade.

Somehow our generation must answer for itself and for all future generations this question: Is man to follow the course of the dinosaurs—who also possessed supreme brute physical power in their day—down the road to extinction? Or can man live to conquer even the fearful problems of the twentieth century.

Meanwhile, we must face an issue that is as deep as human life itself and as wide as the world. It is Abraham Lincoln's issue. It is the issue of whether government of the people, by the people, and for the people is or is not going to perish from the earth. The forces of world communism say, "Yes, that kind of government is to perish and it is our mission to see that it does." The United States and the other free nations say, "No. Government of the people, by the people, and for the people shall not perish from the earth, even if it is attacked by superior military force."

We cannot escape this issue, even if we would. We are not willing to surrender it, even if we could.

Thus we find ourselves between the horns of a dilemma. On the one hand is the menace to liberty. It is represented by the military might of Russia and the satellites of her empire. It becomes more menacing because of years of neglect of human problems in the distressed areas of the world. On the other hand is the virtual certainty that if the atomic armament race leads to war—as every such race has done heretofore in history—our very civilization will be destroyed, if not a large part of the human race.

In such a world we must somehow find a Christian way. That is why we are deeply troubled today. We believe the suicide of the human race would be the ultimate, final, and unforgivable crime against Almighty God. And as matters now stand, we cannot escape the conviction that

if such a suicide comes, we ourselves will be in part responsible.

To say that the Russians are undoubtedly trying to build a hydrogen bomb is to explain our action in so doing. But it cannot justify it before either God or man unless we are able to demonstrate in the most clear and convincing manner that this act of ours can in fact be dedicated to the cause of peace.

We are not toying with just another new military weapon. We are, in the words of the Alsop brothers, "harnesssing creation's inner secrets for the purposes of destruction." And the Alsops add that this "is a terrible act, whose consequences cannot be foreseen. It is a menace to the order of nature." And we, the ordinary citizens, would add that it is a menace to the order of nature's God.

It is not death we fear. It is rather our share in the responsibility for the possible destruction of human life upon the earth. This is why it is not enough to beat the Russians. It is why nothing is enough except to save mankind. It is why we must recognize once and for all that old conceptions of world politics and of national sovereignty and of the relations of nations to one another are as outmoded as a flint-lock rifle. It is why we must understand our children when they tell us, simply, that they are "against hydrogen and atomic bombs whatever comes."

As the Chicago *Sun-Times* has put it, we are face to face with "the moral question whether any nation has the right to possess the power to banish life on earth." There is only one answer to that question. The only agency on the earth that can claim such a right is mankind itself. Mankind itself, not any segment of it, and mankind alone can claim the right to decide whether mankind shall live or die. If, indeed, such a right can be conceived to exist at all.

At any stage in any human society, the authority of law must be broad enough and great enough to control forces that might destroy that society. Otherwise survival becomes

unlikely, if not impossible. From the day the first atomic bomb was dropped on Hiroshima some form of world government capable of preserving peace became inevitable. Weapons of potentially universal destructive power must lead either to totalitarian world government brought about by conquest or else to democratic world government brought about by agreement and constitutional means.

Can it be that the dilemma we confront has but one horn instead of two and that the same measure might provide the answer both to the problem of threatening war and to the problem of communist imperialism?

The attempt of the Russians to hold half the world in subjection to their communist system cannot, in the long run, succeed, if two conditions are assured. The first of these is an alternative offering real hope to the great masses of people around the world. And the second is that America grasp and hold the moral leadership of the world. This is why the American people are called in this hour to action vastly more generous and far-sighted than was ever required of any nation before in history. Our task, as we said in the beginning, begins at home and ends with the periphery of the world. Such a task cannot be performed without the influence, guidance and leadership of Christian statesmanship.

The requirements of our time are for co-operation in its broadest and most deeply significant sense. This means that political democracy must be vital in every community of the land, that the civic sense of belonging together must everywhere be strengthened. It means too that institutions of the people, voluntarily built by the people, must grow in every facet of life. It means that groups of Americans must build the kind of co-operative institutions that will not only give us here a democracy both political and economic in its best and highest sense, but which can offer to other peoples around the world the chance to work with

us rather than under us in solving their problems within the framework of freedom. In every phase of our national life, these principles of mutual aid and co-operation are at work to some degree. It is our task, knowing the needs of our time, to spare no effort but to do everything that may be required to make those principles and practices available to more and more people in more and more areas of life.

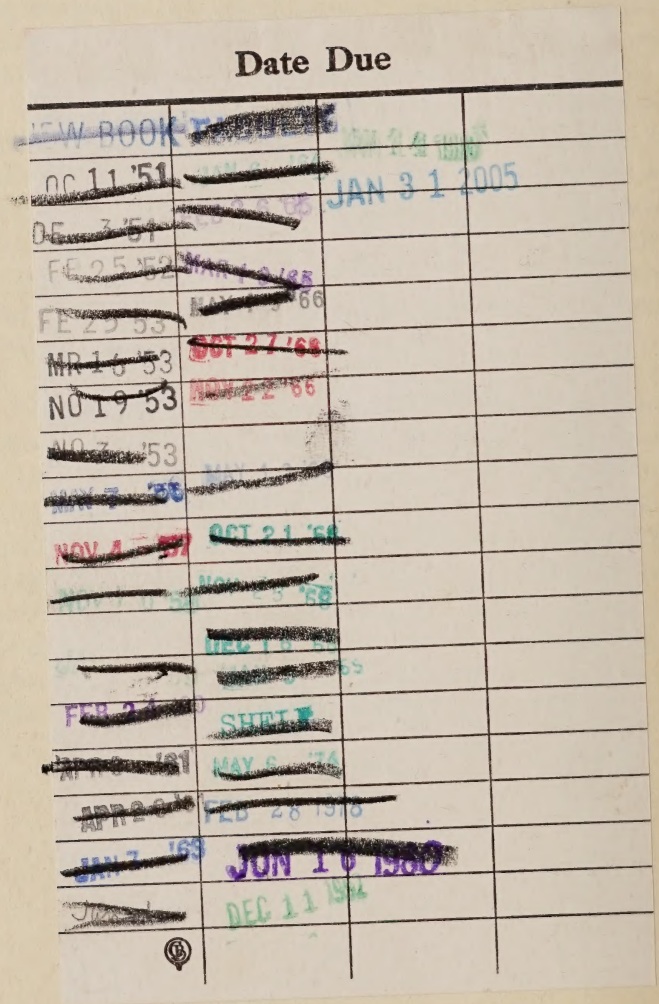
And as to these weapons of mass destruction, these atomic and hydrogen bombs, we have our choice. Either we can pursue to the bitter end the armament race or we can throw out a challenge that no other nation, including Russia, can fail to meet without standing condemned in the eyes of every person on earth who desires peace. We could declare it America's policy, and make it America's policy, to join with all other nations willing to join with us in transforming the United Nations into a genuine world government with powers defined and limited but adequate to preserve the peace in these times. And to such an organization of the moral forces of the world, and to it alone, we could declare that the right of possession of such weapons of mass destruction should belong. By such an act, the United States would shift onto the shoulders of any nation not willing to join in such an effort the full responsibility for threatening the peace of the world. By such an act we would have effectively answered every attempt of Communist propaganda to malign our motives; and what is more important, we would have gained unquestionably the moral leadership of the world.

The only available alternative to World War III is a universal federation of all the nations capable of maintaining peace and to which the will to war of every nation would be subject. If hope for such a limited world government is to be called impractical, what, may we ask, is to be said for the practicability of World War III? If it be impossible to bring Russia into such a world government as

would effectively lift her iron curtain, at least it should be the declared policy of our government to try. And if the Russians adamantly refuse such a challenge, then, while those nations that did join with us would have to maintain an armament sufficient to prevent the Russians from breaking the peace, nonetheless a start would have been made toward the only goal that makes the slightest sense in a world capable of bacteriological warfare.

The center and core of American policy must be something more than beating Russia. That policy must be the achievement of a moral counterpart, in law, of the atomic bomb, the achievement of a governmental equivalent of weapons of mass destruction, the achievement of an institution that can express man's will to live even as bacteriological warfare and the hydrogen bomb stand for the possibility of the crime of race suicide.

When these achievements are the objective of America's every act, relentlessly and doggedly pursued, then we the people can lift our eyes to the stars and see in them something beside the source of the destructive power of a hydrogen bomb. That we must be able to do. We the people must find a way in which we can walk and feel that we are doing, under God, our absolute best to save man, his greatest and highest work, from destruction. When we have found that way, we shall no longer be afraid of any consequence. To chart that way and to follow it is a task for Christian statesmanship.


Date Due
OC 11 '51
NOV 19 53
JAN 31 2005
JUN 10 1960

JA79 .V95
The Christian in politics.
Princeton Theological Seminary-Speer Library
1 1012 00025 7917